

BIOGRAPHY OF A VANISHED COMMUNITY: SOUTH END, PORT ELIZABETH

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to construct a biography of the community of South End, Port Elizabeth, in space and time. This project arises from a need to understand the birth, growth, zenith, decline and demise of this community. The need also exists to capture aspects of the heritage, history, experiences and perceptions of South End.

A biographical approach will be used rather than a historical one because aspects of the lives of individuals are reconstructed as part of the life of a place. Furthermore, the study will deal with lives collectively of former residents of South End in its different facets, namely emotional, experiential, political, social and others. The community will thus be viewed as a complex and multi-faceted being. The intention here is to gather as much relevant information as possible on the historical, social, geographical and cultural context of the life of the community.

This study will also explore what constitutes biographical writing and in what respect this biography differs from the traditional understanding of the term biography. A number of aspects namely history, the subjects and the subjects in relation to the community are explored in reconstructing this community.

History forms an important aspect of this study, therefore it deals with issues such as what constitutes history and how it is written; a brief overview of the history of Port Elizabeth and the emergence of South End as a community and key legislation that affected the community.

In addition to this the focus will also be on geographical space and specifically on the relationship between space and identity and space and community. The emphasis will be on the question of identifying how the individual identity is constituted in relation to community and how the individual assumes complex subject positions. Lastly, this study will focus on the discoveries I have made in the course of the research, it will reflect on the difficulties encountered in this project and the significance of the study and what the study has yielded.

Keywords: biography, community, forced removals, history, identity, memory, place, self, South End and space.

ABSTRAK

Dié studie sal poog om 'n biografie – in ruimte en tyd – te skep van die gemeenskap van Suideinde, Port Elizabeth. Die projek het ontstaan uit die behoefte om die geboorte, groei, bloeityd, agteruitgang en ondergang van hierdie gemeenskap te verstaan. Daar is ook 'n behoefte om die geskiedenis, nalatenskap, ondervindings en persepsies vas te lê.

'n Biografiese eerder as 'n historiese benadering word gevolg, omdat dele van die lewens van individue herskep word as deel van die lewe van 'n plek. Die studie sal daarbenewens kollektief handel oor die lewens van eertydse inwoners van Suideinde in hul verskillende fasette, naamlik emosioneel, eksperiënsieel, polities, sosiale druk en so meer. Die gemeenskap sal dus as 'n komplekse en veelgefasetteerde wese beskou word. Die voorneme is om soveel as moontlik relevante inligting bymekaar te bring oor die historiese, maatskaplike, geografiese en kulturele kontekste van die gemeenskapslewe.

Hierdie studie sal ook verken wat biografiese skryfwerk behels en in watter opsig hierdie biografie van die tradisionele begrip van die term biografie verskil. 'n Aantal aspekte, naamlik die geskiedenis, die subjekte en die subjekte in verhouding tot die gemeenskap, word verken in die herskepping van die gemeenskap.

Die geskiedenis maak 'n belangrike deel van hierdie studie uit, en dit handel daarom oor kwessies soos wat geskiedenis behels en hoe dit geskryf word; 'n bondige oorsig van die geskiedenis van Port Elizabeth; die ontstaan van Suideinde as 'n gemeenskap; en sleutelwetgewing wat die gemeenskap raak.

Daarbenewens sal die fokuspunt ook wees op 'n geografiese ruimte en spesifiek op die verhouding tussen ruimte en identiteit en ruimte en gemeenskap. Die klem sal wees op die kwessie hoe daar bepaal kan word hoe die individuele identiteit sy beslag in verhouding tot die gemeenskap vind en hoe die individu komplekse subjekposisies inneem. Die studie sal laastens handel oor my ontdekkings in die loop van die navorsing, die probleme wat in die projek teengekom is, die waarde van die studie, en wat die studie opgelewer het.

Sleutelwoorde: biografie, gedwonge verskuiwings, geheue, gemeenskap, geskiedenis, identiteit, plek, ruimte, self en Suideinde.

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INTRODUCTION

To live over people's lives is nothing
unless we live over their perceptions,
live over the growth, the change,
the varying intensity of the same –
since it was by these things they themselves lived.

*Henry James, William Wetmore story and his
friends (1903:125)¹*

This study arises from a need to understand the birth, growth, zenith, decline and demise of the community of South End, Port Elizabeth, in space and time. The community of South End has a rich history - the people lived meaningful lives and they have interesting experiences to narrate, and the need exists to capture their heritage and history particularly in ways that textualise individual and communal experiences and perceptions as suggested by Henry James in the epigraph to this chapter. At present there is a paucity of information on the history of South End. The only publications existing are that by Yusuf Agherdien, Ambrose George and Shaheed Hendricks entitled *South End – As We Knew It* (1997), *South End – Aftermath* (2003) by Ambrose George and Shaheed Hendricks, *South End – Gone But Not Forgotten* (2013) by Yusuf Agherdien and *Double Vision – A pictorial brochure on South End* (2015) by Yusuf Agherdien. South End has never received the same attention as District Six in Cape Town, for various reasons. The focus has been more on District Six because Cape Town is South Africa's oldest city and the declaration of District Six as a white suburb in 1966 caused widespread national and international disapproval. Much has been written about District Six by writers like Alex La Guma, Richard Rive and the poet James Mathews. The area has also been photographed, painted and filmed. This study seeks to correct the neglect of South End as a subject of research.

A biographical approach is used rather than a historical one because aspects of the lives of individual persons are reconstructed as part of the life of a place. It may be argued that there are a number of similarities between history and biography. Both history and biography recreate 'real' as opposed to invented lives; both are conveyed through the

¹ I have used Harvard referencing style. At times I have placed the bracketed publication details immediately after the author's name cited, but at other times I have placed the bracket at the end of the relevant segment to avoid disrupting the flow of meaning in the sentence.

written word; both rely on chronology to give it form or logic; in both there is selection of material, and both are designed for specific readers. However, there are distinguishing features between the two genres. The biographer can make use of poetic devices and novelistic writing techniques, whereas in historical writing these would often be far less evident.² Furthermore, whereas the biographer focuses on morality, emotions, motives, perceptions and nostalgia, these actions are less prevalent in historical writing. Direct speech can be used in biographical writing as a device which gives it a dramatic effect, while this is more often than not absent in historical writing. The research will use several methodologies which include personal interviews, archival research and literature surveys.

The study deals with lives collectively to construct the biography of a community in its different facets (emotional, experiential, political, social pressures and others). In other words the community is viewed as a complex and multi-faceted being. The intention here is to gather as much relevant information as possible on the historical, social, geographical and cultural context of the life of the community. The material has been collated and subjected to the techniques of close textual analysis and critical reading practices. As a “being”³ this study traces a trajectory of the genesis, the growth and development and the final demise of South End.

Scope of study

The biography that is being written is that of a vanished community rather than that of an individual. This has certain implications in that a broader perspective of the community is given, in terms of its lifestyle, its way of life, the differences and similarities that might exist in the community, and what binds the residents and what separates them. Multiple perspectives have been used in this study. In other words, a representative sample (see Table 1 for demography of this community) of the South End community has been interviewed to throw light on what co-operation existed within the community, the respect and religious and cultural tolerance everybody spoke about in the community, and their outlook on life. This enables the biographer to draw certain comparisons and conclusions,

² Parke, C.N. 2002. *Biography: Writing lives*. London: Routledge

³ South End can be envisaged in the form of a human body. The buildings may suggest a certain image; the residents may represent parts of the body; the streets and Baakens River may resemble the veins; and Walmer Road (the main street), known for its vibrancy, represents the heart of the area. This idea was taken from P. Ackroyd in his book entitled *London: The Biography* (2001).

detecting what differences or similarities exist in the accounts of the informants of the same events.⁴ The drawback though is also that certain perspectives might not be represented at all, when one compares it with a group's account. The major challenge for the biographer thus is to be selective and make evident the rationale for sifting out particular material.

TABLE 1: South End Area Advertised for Investigation by the Group Areas Board (Distribution of Population in South End)

Race	Population	Properties owned	Municipal valuation	Businesses	Schools	Churches
White	2,382	385	R1,752,178	91	-	5
Coloured	5,040	275	R 804,249	17	7 (also attended by Indians)	8 (including 2 Mosques)
Indian	1,262	290	R1,088,551	58	-	2
Chinese	202	49	R 196,670	20	-	-
Native	40	-5	-	-	-	-

Source: City Engineer Files – 2/4 Part 6 (1962)

In the second place, I am writing a biography that has to do with ordinary people⁵ rather than prominent figures or celebrities. This has implications of accessibility, because the ordinary person does not have the visibility that celebrities, writers or artists would have. Celebrities or writers may be more likely than ordinary people to leave letters, diaries, journals and photos. They also appear in newspapers, magazines, books and the broader media, and they are written into certain historical accounts. This is not the case with the ordinary person and the only means of access will be interviews, photographs and occasionally personally archived documents. The biographer needs to access information about the ordinary person in ways that are different to ways that one would access information about celebrities. In the case where there is an absence of conventional sources, Barbara Caine (2010:114) suggests that the biographer should use alternative

⁴ Parke *Biography: Writing lives*.

⁵ An ordinary person is one who has no distinctive, exceptional, unusual, special qualities or abilities. I regard myself as an ordinary person, because I had a normal South End experience. Most of the subjects were ordinary, however, there were residents who achieved their goals in life. Arthur Nortje and Dennis Brutus were extraordinary people, but they had a common South End experience. They lived ordinary lives, they were not rich and above the ordinary person. Their experiences were akin to the common worker

methods and approaches to construct a life. This includes a hunt for clues and traces of evidence that have to be read in particular ways; where there are gaps in the narrative, the biographer needs to draw on his imagination or use a thematic approach and insert himself into the narrative as well as find alternative material to work with.

It may be asked why it is important to talk about ordinary people. Such people tend to give a more detailed perspective without any exaggeration. They sometimes lack the ability to express themselves but in order to augment this they relate stories. The ordinary person can make a major contribution because their narrations are unique; they perceive and experience things differently and their understanding is also 'authentic', not having any invested image to protect or project.

Furthermore, there is a significant difference between, for example, interviewing the famous as opposed to interviewing the average individual. Their responses will be different. The difference lies mainly in the interviewees' previous experience of being interviewed. The ordinary person has in all likelihood seldom been formally interviewed and will feel uncomfortable and intimidated by the tape recorder. This may also influence the way in which he/she will respond towards the questions. According to Don Ritchie (1995:11) professional people can prove difficult to interview. Certain professionals are trained not to impart information. Ritchie says that most professionals have been interviewed before as part of their job, they are used to responding to questions and they have developed certain patterns of response. The result is that answers may be superficial and packaged. Lastly, Ritchie (1995:11) states that "the average person has more time to do interviews and less ego invested, whereas the prominent person is too occupied, too self-centred, often more cautious in responding and may give little more than a press release".

What makes the life of the ordinary person significant? What makes the lives of the community of South End significant? Firstly, the individuals came from all walks of life which included factory workers, teachers, artisans, imams⁶ and priests. The lives of the community of South End were significant in the sense that it was a heterogeneous community, unlike some other communities which were much more homogenous such as

⁶ The person who leads prayers in a mosque. The title of a Muslim leader.

Humewood and Walmer. This community comprised of a variety of nationalities and cultures.

South End was a vibrant area where people mingled freely because there was love, respect, and mutual understanding as claimed by Soopiah Muthayan, one of the ex-South Enders. Despite the fact that many people were poor, they would especially share food items. Muthayan explained that

nobody used to starve, because everything was cheap. And what people didn't have they shared ... If you needed something people come borrow next door. When somebody was ill, you call somebody next door, to come and help. There wasn't by arrangement, by appointment, people just help each other. It was a normal thing to do (Muthayan, 26/07/2007).

Mr Saliem Davids, another interviewee said religion was a binding factor in the community and the priest or imam would personally visit his parishioners. This encouraged the parishioners to become actively involved in church, temple and mosque activities. Education and sport also played a significant role in the lives of the residents of South End. Davids echoes this and relates:

Wat vir my uitgestaan het, ek praat van alle 'communities' van South End, whether jy nou 'white' coloured, Indian or Malay was, hulle was almal lief vir sport. Buiten hulle gelowe ... kan ek hulle sien as 'n 'sport-loving community'.

[What stood out for me, I am talking about all the communities of South End, whether you are white, coloured, Indian or Malay, they all loved sport. Besides their religions, ... I regard them as sport loving community.]

This study can be regarded as a kind of revisionist⁷ or unconventional biography in the sense that it is about a community rather than an individual. The focus is on the ordinary individual rather than a celebrity and presents a perspective of those who are formerly oppressed and marginalised. Furthermore, this community is a vanished community because of forced removals, which resulted through the implementation of the Group Areas Act on which I elaborate in Chapter 3. These former residents of South End are

⁷ It refers to the reconsideration of mainstream theories (See Chapter 1, pp.17-18 for more details)

scattered throughout Port Elizabeth, South Africa and places like Australia, the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States of America. They all have a story to tell and it is given from their own perspective. Given the fact that it is a vanished community and that the last of the forced removals took place thirty-six years ago, round about 1980, it has been deemed vital by the writer that the history of this community should be reconstructed. The story needs to be told: firstly, the history and heritage of South End must be preserved; secondly, it is a lesson for South Africans in the post-apartheid era, that people of multi-cultural and “multi-racial”⁸ backgrounds can co-exist peacefully; and lastly, it can serve as a model for future research. The reality is that there should no longer be any procrastination about research on South End, as these former residents may either pass on or their memories might fail them. Therefore, the value of this project cannot be overemphasised. The writer has experienced that valuable information has already been lost when Mrs Mary Williams, one of the subjects already selected and interviewed for this project, became terminally ill and later passed away. I have engaged with eleven interviewees and five have to date (2016) passed away. The unfortunate result is that their stories have died with them.

What aspects will be explored in reconstructing this community? In other words, what have been identified as the points of reference that provide conceptual frameworks for understanding this community? There are three points of reference and the first one is history. A story, which is a historical story, is being related. This community has come into existence as the result of a particular kind of history, therefore historical information will be used and so too, a historical context. In the chapter which is entitled “The Disappearing Present: History of Immigration and Migration”, a detailed historical overview will be given, about how the community came into existence, and the subjects will be placed in particular historical contexts. In the past the history of the “non-white”, the disadvantaged was neglected and in many cases distorted and the colonisers and then the apartheid rulers wrote the history of South Africa. The dominant historiography in the past dealt more with the issues pertaining to the white settlers in South Africa, who include the British and the Dutch rather than the indigenous inhabitants. Furthermore, it was claimed that South Africa was a vacant land when settlers arrived here and that whites

⁸ The term "race" in everyday language is understood as a classification of different groups. The word in the South African context has strong political connotations and is a term that is highly charged. In this thesis it will be used to distinguish the various population groups in this country as constructed under colonialism and apartheid.

modernised it. It was stated (on the above grounds) that the whites had as much right to land as the blacks (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:ix). It was not until recently that the history highlighted the complexity and diversity of the different societies that have lived in South Africa.

New trends and a paradigm shift emerged in the 1980s in South African historiography and a reinterpretation of history was engaged with rather than the traditional interpretation (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:x). The goal was to redress the distorted historiography of the past and biases that may have existed. Examples of these new trends include foregrounding the history of blacks, Indians and coloureds, the exploration of gender issues and giving a voice to the previously marginalised groups. This study deals with the multitude of voices and perspectives of the previously marginalised groups, foregrounding new interventions, new knowledge, and new kinds of reading and interpretations of South End.

The second point of reference is the subjects in relation to the community. The subject in relation to the community⁹ is the way in which the individual is understood in relation to the group. It was mentioned previously that the South End community was a community characterized by a multiplicity of cultures, faiths and races. It was a special kind of community, particularly before and during the apartheid era. It came to be constituted as a consequence of history and was a community with distinct features.

Thirdly, this project is concerned with location, with how this community functioned within a geography and how this community was structured spatially. What will be considered will be where the places of worship, the places of business, the places of recreation, the places of education, and the places of work were; how the space organized the community; how the space of South End was situated in relation to the rest of the city, and what forms of mobility it enabled or disabled. For example, the residents lived in close proximity to most amenities, including the places of worship, the places of business, the places of recreation and places of education. Pupils could thus walk to school and housewives could do their shopping conveniently at a variety of shops in the area. There was a particular relationship between individuals which affected how those individual

⁹ The word community is a complex concept and has a different meaning to different people. For example in the areas previously affected by forced removals, the word community was associated with closeness, caring and sharing; whereas in today's terms, especially in the middle-class areas, there is a sense of aloofness that prevails. The term community is normally defined as a group of people living together in one place with the same interests.

functioned in the community. It is noteworthy that there was no demarcated area for a specific racial group, in other words in South End there was no Malay, white or Indian area, and rather people lived next door to one another without any spatial ethnic demarcations.

Overview of methodology

Multiple methods are used to construct the biography of South End. Interviews with eleven ex-residents¹⁰ form a key part of source material, I have interviewed the following people: Mr Cato Bailey, Mr Saliem Davids, Mr Leo Davis, Imam Jalal Ismail, Mr Gordon Loyson, Mr Soopiah Muthayan, Mr Dimitri Paizis, Mrs Julia Parley, Mrs Maureen van Staden, Mrs Mary Williams, and Mrs Eileen Wilson.

Mr Cato Bailey (1918-2012), a nonagenarian, was a provincial cricketer and soccer player, sport administrator, keen fisherman, who worked for a big company in Port Elizabeth. He was an honorary member of the South End Museum Board of Trustees. Mr Bailey provided me with an overall idea of the way of life in South End, he related many stories and as a sportsman, he gave me an insight into the sport structures in South End and the important role sport played in the community.



Mr Saliem Davids (1936-2012) was a retired mason, former provincial cricket and rugby player, community worker and later resided in Welcome Estate, Cape Town. Mr Davids provided me with interesting information on sport in general, the way of life in South End, anecdotes about South End and its people and about the communities in general.



Mr Leo Davis (1945) is a businessman, a sportsman and a former Board member of the Dickson Street synagogue. Davis is over seventy years old but still enjoys surfing in his spare time. He gave me information about the Jewish customs, habits, early history and businesses in South End.



¹⁰ Participants were informed about the purpose and nature of the study and asked whether they would give consent to using their real names in the published doctoral thesis. Copies of the signed informed consent forms have been given to my supervisor.

Imam Jalal Ismail (1932-2012) was a former cricketer, sport administrator and community leader.¹¹ Imam Jalal was imam of Masjidus Saabireen in Salsoneville, Port Elizabeth. He provided me with an insight into the Malay culture and tradition, as well as life in South End in the 60s and 70s and a general history of South End.



Mr Gordon Loyson (1927-2013), who was formerly the Chairperson of the Chinese society, was a retired businessman, and lived in Kabega Park in Port Elizabeth. Loyson gave me information on the Chinese customs, habits, their community's early history, and business in general.



Mr Soopiah Muthayan (1939-2015) was a retired pharmacist and community worker, and was an executive member of the Board of Trustees of the South End Museum. Mr Muthayan supplied me with interesting information on the customs and habits of the Hindus, a historical background of the Indians, the way of life in South End, his experiences as a learner at primary and high school, and a general overview of the neighbourhood of South End.



Mr Dimitri Paizis (1936) is a businessman, an author, a member of the Greek Society and takes a keen interest in the history of the Greek community. Paizis gave me interesting information on the history of the Greeks of South End, their customs and habits and the businesses in South End.



Mrs Julia Parley (1950) is a housewife and is at present living in New Brighton, one of the oldest black townships¹² in Port Elizabeth. She shared her experiences with regards to life as a learner at a coloured school, her family background and personal experience in South End, and the forced removals.



¹¹ Despite the fact that some of the subjects were/are community leaders only three obtained tertiary qualifications.

¹² Blacks were moved very early from South End. The removals commenced prior 1956. Blacks were in the minority and therefore there were not many families who lived in South End. Thus during my interviewing sessions, it was a challenge to trace members of this group.

Mrs Maureen van Staden (1934) is a retired school teacher and community worker. She is still actively involved in church and community work despite her age. She provided me with information on the white community, their education system, her life as a teacher and community worker.



Mrs Mary Williams (1916-2007) was a teacher and a community worker. Mrs Williams gave interesting accounts of her childhood – she comes from “mixed parentage” – of the discrimination she endured, her life as a teacher, the bad side of South End and the educational system at the time.



Mrs Eileen Wilson (1942) is a hairstylist by profession and is currently a business manager at a shop in Sherwood, Port Elizabeth. She gave me insight into the history of the whites, her personal experience as a resident in a mixed community, her family background and the forced removals.



I have endeavoured to interview a cross section of the community who once lived in South End; however I was unable to interview members of the Portuguese community. The reason for this is that with the removals people were scattered all over Port Elizabeth and these two groups (the Portuguese and Greeks) were not allocated or moved to a specific area, unlike the Indians who were moved to Malabar and the Chinese who were moved to Kabega Park. This is the main reason why it was difficult to get in touch with the Portuguese community. It should also be borne in mind that the Portuguese and the Greeks were in the minority and most of them only had businesses in South End, rather than residing there too.

This cross-section of the community of the old South End has as far as possible-included not only intellectuals but also the ordinary man and woman in the street. These subjects held different jobs, played different roles in the community, and they lived in different parts of South End. They fall into different age groups, belong to different cultures, religious groups and their circumstances were different. Some of the subjects are/were

close friends of mine.¹³ Dr Ambrose George is an additional source of information to those listed above; together, we have co-authored three books on South End¹⁴ and we are busy with a number of projects on the effects of the Group Areas Act on Port Elizabeth. We have embarked on a project in which we endeavour to reconstruct the lives of the prominent leaders of old South End. Mr Cato Bailey and Mr Soopiah Muthayan were colleagues of mine and we serve on the South End Museum Trust. Imam Jalal Ismail and Mr Saliem Davids and I once served on the same committee, namely, the Eastern Cape Islamic Congress (E.C.I.C). This committee had as its main aim to serve the interests of the Muslims in the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage areas. This organization saw to the spiritual, educational, and social needs of the Muslim communities of the aforementioned areas. It was established in 1965 and is still in operation.

In addition to these interviews, the research uses critical reading of other written sources: Acts of Parliament, municipal records, letters to the press, letters to officials, newspaper reports, literary sources, photographs, church and mosque records, minutes of meetings, historical facts of South Africa, the history of Port Elizabeth and the history of South End.

Lastly, I have treated my own experiences of South End as another source of information and experience, as another “interviewee”.¹⁵ Thus we can regard this study as partly autobiographical. I was born in South End and spent my early childhood there. It was also the place where I attended primary school and madressa. During this time, I experienced the modus operandi of the community, their values, their lifestyle, their habits and their way of life. This colourful and vibrant community ceased to exist when the Nationalist Government implemented forced removals.

I would like to point out that this study contains traces of auto-ethnographical elements. According to Deborah E. Reed-Danahay (1997:3): “One of the main characteristics of an autoethnographic perspective is that the autoethnographer is a boundary crosser, and the

¹³ In certain instances I will use the word ‘I’ or ‘mine’. Moreover my voice as biographer will filter through, but I will use it with caution

¹⁴ The titles of the books include *South End – As we knew it*; *South End – As we knew it* (A teachers' guide); and *South End – The aftermath*.

¹⁵ My involvement as an interviewer is not on the same level as the people whom I interviewed. For me it was more from the understanding that I am involved. I was involved because I lived there and I encountered the common experience. Furthermore, I am part of the story and there are some measure of subjectivity involved. My subjectivity is on the side of my understanding based on common experience.

role can be characterised as that of a dual identity”.

Reed-Danahay (1997:3-4) adds that another question raised by the concepts of autoethnography is that of “voice and its authenticity”:

Who speaks and on behalf of whom are vital questions to ask of all ethnographic and autobiographical writing. Who represents whose life, and how, are also central topics of concern in our current age of bureaucratization. For the most part, autoethnography has been assumed to be more “authentic” than straight ethnography. The voice of the insider is assumed to be more true than that of the outsider in much current debate.

The above questions raised by Reed-Danahay were taken into consideration when I proceeded with this study. In conclusion, I will briefly give an overview of the chapters that constitute this research.

Chapter 1 explores what constitutes biographical writing. It deals with the question of biographical writing in relation to related genres such as fiction and history. Furthermore, it indicates in what respects this biography differs from the traditional understanding of the term biography. A number of aspects or points of reference namely history, the subjects, and the subjects in relation to the community are explored in reconstructing this community. An overview of (historical) community and fictionalised biographies is also included in this chapter. Lastly, it outlines the various forms of evidence used to write this biography.

Chapter 2 deals with the history of a community located in a particular place and here the emphasis is on the South End community. History forms an important part of this study, hence the focus on history in this chapter. Further, this chapter deals with issues such as what constitutes history and how it is written; a brief history of the settlements of Port Elizabeth and the emergence of South End as a community; and key legislation that affected the community.

Chapter 3 focuses on geographical space and more specifically on the relationship between space and identity and space and community. The emphasis thus is on how space is related to social organisation and then the consequences of the destruction of this space.

Chapter 4 looks at the self and community: It deals with how individual identity is

constituted in relation to community. The focus is on how the individual assumes complex subject positions within the four areas of education, religion, sport and recreation in which individuals participate in the community including my subject positioning.

CHAPTER 1

THEORY AND METHOD OF BIOGRAPHY, COMMUNITY AND FORCED REMOVALS: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Our insignificant lives are as much the
material of biography, fiction and poetry
as those of writers; and as much in need of
an act of understanding.

Lyndall Gordon (*Women's lives:
unmapped country*, 1995)

This study will reconstruct South End using the approach of a biography to present a chronological and critical history of the place. This will be done through reflecting on the process of biographical reconstruction introducing a wide range of voices and making use of archival sources. This chapter reviews pertinent literature on biography, community biography and forced removals.

This chapter focuses on the origins of biography, then turns to contemporary views on the characteristics of biographical writing. The emphasis will also be on related genres of the novel and history and on individual and communal biography.

An overview of literature on biography

The words 'biography' and 'biographer' in English derive from the Greek roots *bios*, life and *graphein*, to write, and do not appear until the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁶ The writing of lives, however, dates back several thousand years and was practised by the Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian kingdoms (Parke, 2002:2). In Egypt, for example, the accounts of Pharaohs' lives were given in the form of phrases and were in the first person and general testimonials (Parke, 2002:1). This practice continued in Babylonia and later in Assyria where it took the place of chronicles. During the classical Greek and Roman Empires, commemorative writing continued and the lives of especially prominent statesmen and generals were recorded (Parke, 2002:2).

The advent of the Christian era saw biography changing slightly, although the writing was

¹⁶ C. Parke, 2002:2

still commemorative and dealt not only with the individual personality, but also with ethical issues and man's relationship with God (Fourie, 2003:15). During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance many biographies were overtly educational in purpose and were designed to present the subject as a model of Christian conduct or public virtue (Tosh & Lang, 2006:119). Cultural beliefs and religious values informed biography during the Middle Ages, whereas the Renaissance during scientific and humanistic developments led to temporary and secular curiosity (Parke, 2002:9-10). In short biography became more secular.

The use of fictional techniques in biography was not only evident during the eighteenth century, but also prevalent the century that followed. During the nineteenth century, the emphasis was also on "respectability, politeness, frequent citation from primary documents, detail, candour and frankness regarding the subject's personal life" (Parke, 2002:19-21). The modern period saw an increased emphasis on empirical evidence, the value of primary material, and the interpretation of (mainly male) characters. During the twentieth century, "under the influence of modernism, biography became less scientific and objective, with stronger preoccupation with the inner lives, the psychology of ordinary lives of men and women having a profound impact on the genre" (Parke, 2002:25).

Over the last half of the twentieth century however, after WWII, the focus of biographers shifted once again, and now included many more women and ordinary people who made little impact on history:

The new subjects who have captured the attention of biographers over the last few decades include women of many kinds alongside a range of marginal and secure men, including political and social dissidents, petty criminals, humble workers, slaves and many others who had little impact on the world around them (Caine, 2010:111).

Parke (2002:18) defines biography as

the history of an individual, not a type or exemplar, depicted accurately and fully in domestic and other private settings, set in a historical circumstantial context, and examined sceptically, though not without sympathy.

As Parke claims a conventional biography is about an individual or is an account of a person's life, viewed in his/her political, historical and socioeconomic context. The

biography is in the form of a narrative, and uses source material such as letters, diaries, journals, photographs, official documents and newspaper clippings in order to give an objective account of subject.

Ira Nadel (1996:4) is of the opinion that facts form a fundamental element of a biography as facts provide authenticity, reality and information. Nadel says that the accurate presentation of facts gives value to biographical writing and he emphasises the importance of language in organising the form of the biography. He says a biographer constructs the life of his subject through the language he uses to describe it and transforms his chronicle to story through the process of emplotment (Nadel, 1996:8). This means that the writer/biographer transforms events by arranging and organizing them in the form of a narrative, through language. Nadel (1996:154) says that through language the biographer should direct the reader's impression, images and interpretation of the subject. Other important elements of biography that Nadel emphasises are the significance of coherence in this genre; a life should be interpreted and not recorded; the biographer should invent through narrative. Finally, the narrative should be accurate, reliable and correct.

According to Parke (2002:28), the relationship between art and fact, imagination and truth, fiction and non-fiction became the preoccupying issues of the twentieth century's way of thinking about biography. This trend has continued into the twenty-first century, but with a proliferation of the genre as well as continual increase in popularity with general readerships of biographies in its various guises (Backscheider, 2001:xiii). Paula Backscheider states that the increase in popularity is due mainly to a result of the attention media gives to biographies and to the fact that biographies are widely reviewed and advertised. She also claims that in recent times there has been a paradigm shift with biographers and serve a wide cross-section of people as the subjects of biography.

It is necessary to distinguish biography from closely related genres. One genre that is close to biography is historiography. Biography, like historiography, can claim narrative as an essential component. Both genres make use of living figures, though while history is more concerned with group action or individuals in historical contexts, most conventional biography is mainly concerned with the individual. An example of this type of biography is the one entitled *Mandela: A Biography* (2010) by Martin Meredith. Meredith presents Mandela's life by making use of a variety of sources and it unfolds in the form of anecdotes, court cases, interviews, dialogue, speeches, maps, photographs and other media.

Paul Kendall (1965:4) says that both biography and history explore the remains of yesterday and, interpret those remains. Kendall (1965:4) states that history deals in generalization about a time, and about a group of people in time, whereas biography deals in the particularities of one person's life. A distinct difference between biography and history is that the biographer makes deliberate use of literary devices, which is downplayed in historical writing.

The other genre that is close to biography is narrative fiction. Like the biography, narrative fiction makes use of literary technique, dialogue, figurative language and narrative prose. Both genres contain a time sequence and a message or moral. A major difference between the biography and narrative fiction is not really about form, but arises from generic categorisation.¹⁷ In other words we read a biography with a different set of assumptions than we do read a novel. Biography tends to make particularly extensive use of literary technique, dialogue, figurative language and narrative prose. Unlike the protagonist of fiction though, we read the subject of a biography as "real" rather than imagined. It may be argued that the novel is based on life writing.

A major shift in biography in recent years is that they not only record the lives of famous people or leaders, but they are also about the lives of ordinary people, especially those who have been oppressed, marginalised and forgotten. This trend was already evident during the Enlightenment, when thinkers like Samuel Johnson and Roger North express preference for the lives of ordinary individuals and argue that any person's life, no matter how unexciting on the surface, could be made interesting (James Clifford, 1962: xii). This study, in keeping with these recent trends, focuses on the lives of ordinary people in the creation of communal life in South End. Although there are biographical studies of significant individuals in South Africa, few attempts have been made thus far to treat an entire community as a complex, multifaceted being.¹⁸

When an account is given about the life of an ordinary individual rather than a distinctive individual, the intention is to create a revisionist history, history from the bottom rather than from the top. In other words, it is a non-hierarchical history, which means that history

¹⁷ This project crosses generic categorisation (author as one subject) in relation to community as subject.

¹⁸ Histories of communities of District Six, Cato Manor and Sophiatown were recorded, but none I presume are fashioned as "biographies".

is made by ordinary people as much as by great historical figures. An example of such a history is the biography by Charles van Onselen (1996), *The Seed is Mine: The life of Kas Maine – A South African Sharecropper, 1894-1985*. Both Van Onselen and Gilliomee write history in the form of a biography. The intention is that this biographical study will become a part of this tradition. It is a revisionist history, using biography to present a different kind of history. This study is a recreation of the life of this community, which has implications for historical writing in that it can serve as a model for future research.

An overview of literature on community biography

A community biography is an account of the multiple lives of people within a community as well as of the space of the community. These lives are reconstructed in the context of their historical, socio-economic and political environment. The focal point is community as opposed to the conventional biography where the focus is on the individual. The individual biography would normally progress in a certain chronological sequence, from birth to death and the life is usually portrayed in its various contexts. Although there are distinct differences between individual and community biographies, but there are also significant similarities in terms of their source material and methodology. Often the writer of a community biography is connected to that specific community and the main aim is not only to foreground the community, but also in certain instances to highlight the plight of the community. An example that comes to mind is the biography of the suburb North End community in East London by Cornelius and Kathy Thomas called *Dust In My Coffee* (2008), to which I refer in more detail later in this chapter. There are also a number of prominent examples of forced removal community biographies in South Africa and these include *South End – As We Knew It* by Agherdien *et al.* (1997), *The Struggle for District Six*, edited by Shamil Jeppie and Crain Soudien and *Lost Communities, Living Memories* (2001) edited by Sean Field.¹⁹

A community biography is normally based on a specific community, which has its own character, unique history and geographical layout, architectural designs and peculiar features. The focus of community biography will invariably include activities and events such as street life and popular culture, phases in the lives of the people, community life,

¹⁹ The editors not only acted in their capacity as raconteurs of the material for publication, but also wrote some of the chapters in the books.

sport and religious events, socio-economic problems, family life, prominent people in the community, education, religion, sport and recreation, business, work, and politics and resistance.

It is especially street life and popular culture that form an integral part of the South African community biography by Felicity Swanson and Jane Harries called '*Ja! So was District Six*', where a detailed and lively description of Hanover Street in District Six is given:

People of 'all colours and creeds' lived side by side in Hanover Street, 'select people, average families, and gangsters all lived next door to each other, and all hung their washing from the buildings'. There was a variety of well-known shops ... Hawkers sold their fruit and vegetables from the barrows, horse-carts or bakkies (vans). Shopkeepers display a variety of colourful goods outside their shops; packing the pavements with racks of shoes, handbags, clothes and household goods. Day and night it was a vibrant, noisy, energetic place. Hanover Street ... a river of people, cars, barrows, buses, horse-drawn carts and small boys racing down slopes in soap box carts: a bustling, laughing, hooting, whistling, shouting, chatting river of people (2001:62).

The evidence used in most South African community biographies are interviews, newspaper reports, photographs, municipal records, Acts of Parliament, minutes of meetings, maps, church, mosque and temple records, archival sources, letters to the press and historical facts. Examples of such biographies are *Lost communities living memories* edited by Field (2001) and *The struggle for District Six* edited by Shamiel Jeppie and Crain Soudien (1990).

I examine two kinds of community biography, in the broadest sense that have relevance to my biography of South End, historical biographies of community and fictionalised biographies of community. The historical biographies I draw on are Eva Hoffman's, *Shtetl* (1998), William Serrin's *Homestead* (1992) and Hermann Giliomee's, *The Afrikaner: A biography of a people* (2003). The writers of these three works are deeply connected to their specific communities as I am connected to South End. They take an empathetic, yet critical stance, to the idea of community which is an approach I adopt in this biography. Hoffman's memoir, entitled *Shtetl*, is also an historical account of the Jews in Poland and specifically of the small town in Bransk, Eastern Poland. The town of Bransk was unique in the sense that it was a "highly resilient micro-society with its own customs, beliefs and

rituals, its own social distinctions, organisation and civic structures” (inside cover of the book: *Shtetl*). Bransk also boasted a multicultural society prior to the Second World War and this included indigenous Poles, Germans, Italians, Scots, Armenians, and other minorities. This peaceful co-existence was successful until it was cut short by the tragedy of the Holocaust. Today there are no Jews left in Bransk.

In *Shtetl*, Hoffman recreates the vanished world of this East European Jewish community up until its final days. She explores the rich history and culture of the Polish Jews, the religious and educational institutions, the multicultural co-existence that prevailed, periods of tolerance, conflict and prejudice, and the demise of this community.

Hoffman also sheds light on the reason that Poles rescued or betrayed their Jewish neighbours when the Nazis invaded Poland. Hoffman succeeds in giving a comprehensive all-round account of the Jews in Bransk. The biographer does this by making use of a diversity of material, which includes historical information, interviews, maps, photographs and other sources, and through this she creates a coherent whole. It is through language that she reconstructs the world of the Jews in Bransk. Further, Hoffman cleverly recreates these worlds not only through her eyes²⁰ but also through the eyes of the subjects. Other techniques that Hoffman uses are direct speech (which creates a dramatic effect), the use of dates (which give some form of reliability) and accuracy to the narrative and the use of anecdotes which enhances the narrative. These are all techniques that in one form or another I consciously use in this study.

Hoffman’s book is relevant to and reminiscent of the South End story and many of the examples can be adapted and applied to this project, more notably the narrative strategies used by Hoffman. Hoffman highlights the history of the community of Bransk, which, like South End, was once a colourful, vibrant and cosmopolitan community. The author also emphatically relates the atrocities of war the community experienced and their migration which ultimately resulted in a vanished community. These strategies include the writer using a strict chronological narrative approach. Evident is a clear historical beginning, a middle or rise and golden era of that community and its ultimate demise. This style is complemented by a mixture of telling the story from a first person and third person.

²⁰ A person’s perspective is influenced by a host of factors which includes the person’s history, culture, background, religion and value system. These are elements that cloud one’s perspective.

Fashioning a narrative in the first person, however, holds many challenges, possible bias, persuasive motives, misunderstandings and possible agendas. It is for this reason that I am cautious to use the word 'I' too often in this project.

Serrins' *Homestead* is an account of the history of a small mill town in Pennsylvania. Homestead was for decades America's most famous steel town and was one of the most productive steel centres of the world. Homestead was known for its vitality, especially at shift change. Today it is a shadow of what it once was. Buildings are dilapidated, stores and houses are abandoned. The streets have lost their vibrancy, the biggest church is scruffy and the street has potholes. This all happened after the milling industry declined. Today people of Homestead have fond memories of the town, when it was in its heyday.

Serrin's main aim in writing the book is to raise questions around the effects and consequences of decaying iron towns, auto towns, steel towns and coal towns. Serrin says that once these towns had yielded up their riches, they had been allowed to run down or were abandoned (1994:416). He also criticises the government for permitting the working class to be exploited approving the closing of mills and the towns to deteriorate. Serrin states further that there are a number of lessons to be learnt not only for the people of America but for people all over the world.

It is through meticulous research and careful observation that Serrin could present a well-balanced biography of the Homestead community. Serrin based his research mainly on consulting 300 books, hundreds of newspapers and magazine articles, observations and interviews with 250 people. The biographer presents a narrative which is comprehensive, interspersed with anecdote and dialogue. It contains a chronological timeline with references to dates and times, and references to historical events. Serrin makes extensive use of the detail of the geographical layout of Homestead and gives an account of the people, their habits, and their way of life and the general atmosphere of the town. It is this methodological approach used by Serrin that can be adapted to this project and it is especially the fact that Homestead is a vanishing community that makes this community biography relevant to this study. Both groups, the residents of South End and the residents of Homestead had to move out of the area, albeit for different reasons. The residents of South End had to move for political and the residents of Homestead for economic reasons.

A notable local example of the category of community biography is Giliomee's *The*

Afrikaners: Biography of a people. In this work, Giliomee reconstructs the history of the Afrikaners from the early days, when they arrived as settlers from Holland in 1652, up to the present. Apart from it being a historical account, Giliomee also gives the reader an idea of the political, economic and cultural development of this community. In *The Afrikaners*, Giliomee does not only position the Afrikaners historically, but also politically and economically. The book gives an account of the Afrikaners' trials and tribulations, and the challenges to their survival.

Giliomee attempts to give an objective account of the history of the Afrikaners whereas previously many Afrikaans historians of the Afrikaners gave skewed account more sympathetic to the apartheid project, especially Afrikaans nationalist historians like CFJ Muller and FA van Jaarsveld. The 'heroic' deeds of the Afrikaners were emphasised, whereas the suffering of the blacks in general was under-emphasised. The main aim of Giliomee's book is to make readers aware of the unique history and culture of the Afrikaners. What I take from Giliomee's work is the tenacity and perseverance of the Afrikaners, despite the initial hardships and oppressions they had to face. I try to adopt the empathetic yet critical approach Giliomee uses in his work on Afrikaners in my own study.

In *Ja! So was District Six! But it was a beautiful place: Oral histories, memory and identity* by Swanson and Harries, cited in Field's, *Lost communities, living memories* the authors attempt to reconstruct the history and community life of District Six by making use of mainly oral history and photographs. The advantage of oral history is that we learn directly from people what life was like in District Six. It gives us greater insight into the lives and thoughts of ordinary people who themselves would not normally write down their own stories.

Swanson and Harries start off by positioning District Six geographically and then move on to what the area embodies, namely a 'collective memory of home, family, neighbourliness and community' (Swanson & Harries 2001:62). They state further that the suburb is likened to areas such as the Left Bank of Paris, the East End of London and the Bronx in New York. District Six had similarly become well-known for its diverse cultures, which included descendants of indigenous people, Malay and African slaves, Afrikaans, Jews and European immigrants. The essay unfolds with a brief historical background of District Six, which started off as wine estates in the early 1880s. Snapshots are then given of the area's growth and its rapid development into a cosmopolitan urban suburb.

Swanson and Harries' focus mainly on the recollection of everyday life in the years between the Second World War, and the uprooting and subsequent disposals of the community to the Cape Flats after 1966. Street life and popular culture are highlighted interspersed with oral recollections and excerpts from the work of the novelist and former resident Alex La Guma depicting the atmosphere. There are accounts of shops, schools and memories of business, barbers, bioscopes, hotels and pubs. The usefulness of this essay lies in the way District Six is presented through its historical and geographical positioning, its focus on the growth and development of the area, its use of oral recollections, and its depiction of street life and popular culture.

South End and District Six are similar in many ways in terms of the diversity of culture, the language spoken, the street life and popular culture and many other similarities. It is especially the narrative of the Swanson and Harries community biography, which is interspersed with the direct speech of the subjects, that makes the story effective and meaningful. The effectiveness of the narrative also lies in the simple, accessible and yet nuanced way the narrative voice presents the story. The narrative is deliberately presented to echo the voices of ordinary people of District Six. Similarly this study attempts to foreground the voices of the people of South End in a plain and subtle manner.

The focus will now shift to the book, *The Struggle for District Six* (Jeppie & Soudien, 1990) and more specifically to Bill Nasson's essay entitled *Oral history and the reconstruction of District Six* (1990). Nasson starts off by stressing the importance of oral recollections, namely "perceptions of experiences of those who once" (1999:46) lived in District Six. He follows this route of an oral history of District Six mainly due to the scarcity of written sources and because the focus is on the 'subordinate people' of Cape Town. It is unlikely that one would find literary sources about this group. Nasson's essay gives an account of housing, family life, education, street life, recreation, memories of shops, businesses and memories of inequalities, topics similar to ones I investigated in this research.

This biography, like the study of Nasson's, relies strongly on oral testimonies and he points out a number of advantages in making use of this method especially when reconstructing the history of marginalised groups. Nasson (1990:47) says the accounts of these groups "will not be found in minutes of meetings", for example, in those of municipalities, or written records, official reports and legislative discussions. Further,

reports in newspapers, periodicals and books would provide a particular flavour and bias. However, oral testimonies potentially have their own biases which include exaggeration, distortion, loss of memory and nostalgia.

One of the major objectives of this project is to listen to what Janelle Wilson calls the “Unheard voices” (1997). Wilson (1997:150) in her essay entitled *Lost in the Fifties* cited in Amia Leiblich and Ruthellen Josselson, *The Narrative Study of Lives*, 1997 says that we have all heard the dominant voices via mass media and asserts that there are also other less audible stories out there, and that discordant voices should also be heard (1997:150). In my study the lesser heard subjects were afforded the opportunity to voice their opinion and to relate their stories. This foregrounding of the discordant or less audible voice resulted in giving them a “voice”. Nasson cogently puts it that these voices are equally important for posterity (1990:47).

We have, if not a duty, then a need, deeply engraved within a deeply democratic human culture, to help preserve that history and to burn it for many years to come. Only in this way can the rich and varied experiences of common people begin to penetrate ‘the enormous condescension of posterity’.

Nasson, like Swanson and Harries, relies much on oral as well as empirical evidence to reconstruct the history of District Six. The usefulness of both of the above articles lies in their methodological approach and their forms of evidence. Both Nasson and Swanson make use of historical evidence, anecdotes, oral evidence and even literary sources. In this study, literary sources, which include the poems of Dennis Brutus, Arthur Nortje and other poets and writers, are also utilised to give life to South End.

Dennis Brutus is a South African poet, academic and political activist. He was born in Harare, Zimbabwe (then Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia) of South African parents and grew up in South Africa. Brutus was educated at Fort Hare College and then studied law at the University of Witwatersrand. He attended school at St Monica’s Primary School and St Thomas’ in South End and later taught at his alma mater. Brutus was a leader in the struggle against racial discrimination in sport and his anti-apartheid activity led to his arrest in 1963. The poet was later sentenced to eighteen months in prison on the notorious Robben Island. In 1966 Brutus left on a one-way exit permit for England and then moved to the United States. He became professor of English literature and held positions at a number of universities in the United States which included North-Western University, the

University of Texas and the University of Pittsburgh (Thomas, 2012:ix-x). Lastly, Brutus wrote a number of anthologies and many of these are concerned with social injustices. This includes the poem ‘Burness Street’ which is used in this study.

Nortje is a poet of international standing who was born in Oudtshoorn (1942) and grew up in Korsten, Port Elizabeth. He taught at South End High School and then proceeded to further his studies at the University of Oxford and died there in 1970. His poems reflect his views on the political situation in South Africa and South End in particular, and his opposition to social oppression, racist and economic oppression. A number of his poems make direct reference to South End and these include ‘Housing Scheme Clearance and At a Demolishing Site’. Apart from his poems, Nortje’s handwritten personal journal, also known as his school diary, is used in this project.²¹

Arthur Nortje’s entries started in September 1965 while he was a teacher at South End High School. He continued entries in his journal after arriving in England in October 1965 where he read for a B.Phil in English at Oxford University. The journal, according to Dirk Klopper in the preface of the anthology, *Anatomy of dark* contains a record of various events, observations and a number of poems:

a diary of events and observations during his residence at Jesus College [Oxford], reminiscences about South Africa introspective musings though about his literary studies and about poetic theory and a clutch of letters addressed to Maggie Lennox, to whom he describes his response to literature, theatre and film, and with whom he discusses his own poetic efforts. The journal also contains many poems. Some of them are transcriptions of earlier poems dating as far back as 1960, but the majority were written in England from November 1965 to July 1967 and in Canada from August 1967 to November 1969 (2000:xxx).

Nortje’s subjective experience of South End life forms a rich part of his poems and journal and has been a useful source of reference and perspectives in reconstructing the history of South End.

In *Dust in my coffee* (2008), Cornelius and Kathy Thomas give a historical perspective of North End, East London, the ‘South End’ of East London. They describe the joys and

²¹ Nortje’s personal journal is housed at the National English Literary Museum (NELM) in Grahamstown.

hardships of childhood, their household chores and school life. The chapter entitled ‘Beloved community’ offers the reader a description of community life which includes religious tolerance, respect, honesty, safety of the area, also family life, neighbourliness, generosity and hospitality. The authors give us insight into liquor trade and shebeen scenes that adversely affected the lives of many North Enders. They show through descriptive narratives and anecdotes the joys and pains, the good and the bad of the place, and thus strike a useful objective balance. This work has been a model for my own work on South End.

Old Man Casoojee is a name that often appears in their book and also takes a prominent place in the chapter called ‘Leaders, role models and landlords’. Mention is made of the colourful and charismatic leader of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) Clements Kadalie. He moved to North End in 1931. What would a community be without leaders such as these? Like many communities, South End also gave rise to a number of leaders including Dennis Brutus, Frank Landman and Ofie Salie. They played a prominent role in creating an awareness of their human rights and played a pivotal role in resisting the apartheid government and forced removals.

The North End story emanated mainly from oral interviews and conversations with former residents. The aim of this book is to give voice to the North End residents. The text is cleverly interspersed with poems, slogans and sayings and the ordinary use of language makes it suitable for even the non-intellectual reader. The final chapters of the book address the futile effort of the community and their leaders to stop the apartheid regime. The story of North End is augmented and enhanced by immaculate photos, but maps are absent in the book. I also used the multimodal style in this research, as inspired by the book on the history of North End, East London.

An overview of fictionalised biographies

The motivation for using three²² specific fictionalised biographies/autobiography – *Shirley Goodness and Mercy: A childhood memoir* by Chris van Wyk and *Dance with a poor man’s daughter* by Pamela Jooste and ‘*Buckingham Palace*’, *District Six* by Richard Rive

²² The motivation for using the three fictionalised biographies is mainly the method used by the authors (for instance humour, anecdotes, etc).

– is that there is a close similarity between these communities and South End. These similarities include the way of life, socioeconomic problems, challenges under apartheid government, and forced removals. The groups of biographies will be discussed in relation to earlier examinations of biography, history and narrative fiction. The validity of using fiction in developing this biography of a community forcibly removed is due to its relevance to the South End narrative. The similarities include the joys and hardships people experienced, customs and habits and the resilience of the inhabitants despite the oppressive system and forced removals. Also the rationale behind the use of fiction, is that while it is primarily imagined, it nevertheless is rooted in realities and like history has much to tell us about ourselves. History tells us the truth, and fiction tells us a truth.²³

Fictionalised autobiographies are becoming popular among readers and in the South African context there are quite a number of reputable autobiographies of this type which include Es'kia Mphahlele's *Down Second Avenue* (1985), Richard Rive's '*Buckingham Palace*', *District Six* (1986), Pamela Jooste's *Dance with a poor man's daughter* (1998) and Chris van Wyk's *Shirley Goodness and Mercy: A Childhood Memoir* (2005). The increase in popularity can be ascribed to the introduction of realism in the writing of black writers in their work. Readers can thus relate to events in realistic fiction. Shaun Viljoen (2013:31) describes realism as:

a particular style of writing that represents place, time, people and things as they appear in everyday life, was attractive to black South African writers in the 1950s as the post-war anti-colonial movements gained momentum around the world and defiance marked the anti-apartheid mood at home.

²³ In an adaptation from a quote entitled "A treatise of Human Nature" by David Hume, the author David Mendelsohn points out the difference between a biographer and a historian.

The latter has a more lively conception of all the incidents. He enters deeper into the concerns of the persons: represents to himself their actions, and characters, and friendships, and enmities: he even goes so far as to form a notion of their features, and air, and person. While the former, who gives no credit to the testimony of the author has a more faint and languid conception of all these particulars; and except on account of the style and ingenuity of the composition can receive little entertainment from it.

Aside from the realistic element that attracted readers, there is also the positive reviews in newspapers and magazines that swayed people.

The *Mail and Guardian* gives the follow account of Van Wyk's book and refers to it as "an authentic and important contribution to South African literature; it is also an entertaining social document of a specific community" (Temkin, 2004). The book *Shirley goodness and mercy: A childhood memoir* (2005)²⁴ by Chris van Wyk, which is a social document of a specific community, namely the coloured township of Newclare, Coronationville and Riverlea during the apartheid era. What sets this book apart from the other books listed above is the unique way of presenting his (the author's) world as if with the innocent eyes of a child.

Further, the author presents his relationship with his relatives, his friends and the neighbours. We are given insight into community life, street life, religious customs and rituals and religious tolerance. A balanced, authentic view of the community is given, in other words both the good and the bad sides. An example of the good side was when Africans were accepted into the coloured community of Riverlea:

The Langrich family is one of many African families that have made their way into a coloured community, to escape the indignities of the pass laws and stay where job prospects are better, albeit slightly better.

(Van Wyk, 2006:174)

Van Wyk also fills us in on the joys and hardships of that community, the socioeconomic conditions of the community and the political situation of the country. He does all of this in a writing style that is filled with humour and entertainment. In conclusion, Van Wyk's book is relevant to the South End story, as Riverlea and other areas mentioned in his book have a similar history, community and socioeconomic make-up. Van Wyk's humour astounds one with what it says about the spirit of the residents even in the face of adversity, oppression and forced removals, which is reminiscent of South End. Van Wyk, shows how sheer humanising narratives reclaim historical advantage from authoritarian and oppressive force.

²⁴ Van Wyk's second memoir is entitled: *Eggs to Lay, Chickens to Hatch*.

Pamela Jooste's book, *Dance with a poor man's daughter* is written in the same vein as that of Chris van Wyk's in the sense that both books give us an insight into the world of a child. Although Jooste's work is fictional, the author says that "What happens in these pages did happen. It happened to many black and brown South Africans whose lives were irreparably damaged by the harsh laws put in place to enforce racial segregation" (1998:9). In other words, the story is true, but is adapted and the characters are fictional. The setting of this story is District Six in Cape Town, during the era of racial segregation and forced removals. The book deals with issues such as racial tension, street life, gangsterism, crime and violence, religious and racial tolerance, racism and family life. Jooste's style of writing is plain, simple and easy to read, mainly so because it is narrated through the perspective of a child (as is van Wyk's). It is the careful use of more sober scenes as well as humour which makes this a well-balanced and compelling book to read. Van Wyk's memoir is significant to my study, essentially because it highlights the similarities and challenges Riverlea and South End communities experienced.

It is a challenge to write the biography of any community and even more so when a community no longer exists. In this instance one of the sources used will be oral evidence and here the biggest challenge would be to trace members of that community. In this study it has been a daunting task to find the members of the minority groups in South End, as many of them were scattered and many of them have passed away.

There are a number of factors to be considered when using oral evidence²⁵ in reconstructing the biography of a community. Firstly, there is the reliability and validity of facts, and in these instances it is prudent to select the information carefully and also to draw comparisons. Secondly, memory is a factor that should be carefully considered, in the sense that it is a fact that memory fades over time. Daniel Henige (1982:110) says that the more important and pleasant or unpleasant certain experiences seem to us to be, the more likely we imperceptibly modify them. Henige adds that facts and events may be remembered but the attitudes we had towards them at the time may have been forgotten and replaced by new viewpoints. Thirdly, bias comes into play, because subjects present facts the way they understand them and perceive them. Tosh (2006:99-100) says that there

²⁵ There is a slight difference between oral evidence and empirical evidence. Oral evidence refers to recollections of people's memories and can be subjective. Empirical evidence on the other hand deals with collected data and statistical analysis which can be verified

is value in subjectivity, since the pattern that the speaker makes of events is a cultural and personal construct that illuminates the person's frame of mind and the way the life is led.

Community and forced removals – An overview

The word 'community' in general terms, means a group of people living in the same locality. Ka Sigogo and Tso Modipo (cited in K. Ratele, N. Duncan, D. Hook, N. Mkhize, P. Kiguwa, P. & A. Collins, 2004:27) state that community refers to a sense of coherence that enables people to make sense of their social actions, social interactions and thought processes. They state further that recently in the South African context, the term has acquired political meaning and reflects the political histories and beliefs of people in a given socio-political context. Benedict Anderson (1991:6) puts forward the same argument that communities are politically motivated. Anderson says that all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact are political and "imagined".

The cornerstones of a modern community can be said to be based on habitation of land, the availability of schools, places of worship, and places of work as well as recreation facilities. The state normally takes care of the welfare of the inhabitants. It provides homes or the infrastructure for homes, schools where the children can be prepared for life, recreation centres and parks for spending leisure time, health services and regulations which guarantee the health and safety of its inhabitants, work opportunities for those who are able and willing to work and also services such as electricity, water and libraries.

The above-mentioned community is the modern community, but if these cornerstones are absent, it does not mean that the community ceases to exist. For example, African traditional communities do not have these facilities, but have other support structures in place. A sense of community exists if people mutually recognise the obligation to be responsive to one another's needs (Duncan *et al.*, 2004:4-23). A number of people are regarded as family, irrespective of the actual blood relationship. Child-responsibility, for example, is a collective practice in traditional African communities. This is extended to other activities, such as ploughing the fields, hunting and building a house. The family, like the community, plays a significant role in African traditions. Here, family extends further than the Western idea of a nuclear family. It is part of a closely-knit community of relatives, which includes the living and the deceased. The deceased family members continue to play a role in the daily affairs of their families (Duncan, *et al.*, 2004:4-25).

Furthermore, the African traditional family is organised according to status and in the larger community the same rules apply, that is, family elders are also the leaders in the community. The elders have the responsibility of keeping the family together and they earn their status by virtue of the richness of their knowledge and experience (Duncan, *et al.*, 2004:4-16). Therefore they play a significant role in decision-making, such as resolving marital and other forms of conflict. Aside from this they also teach the youth not only certain skills, but also important values in life. Many of these traditional elements outlined above are seen to be present even in the patently more modern, urban setting of South End.

In the South African context the word community, in the past and continuing into the present day, still has a political undertone given the political and historical past. At present in South Africa, communities are still separated, although a gradual, but slow-paced change is taking place. This can be ascribed mainly to economic reasons as well as the new yet nevertheless still limited freedom of movement that came with the abolition of legislated colour-coded residential districts.

It should be noted that communities from Sophiatown, (Johannesburg) Cato Manor (Durban), District Six (Cape Town) and Malay Camp (Kimberley) suffered the same fate as the people from South End (Port Elizabeth) and North End (East London). However, each of these carried different local histories that colours the history of forced removals in different ways. What follows is a brief historical overview of these areas in order to ascertain similarities and differences, beginning with District Six, situated close to the inner city centre of Cape Town on the lower slopes of Table Mountain. In the 1800s the area that later became known as District Six formed part of the wine estates Welgelegen, Bloemhof, Zonnebloem and Hope Lodge (Swanson & Harries, 2001:63). In subsequent years these farms were occupied by Dutch-speaking whites and after 1834 a number of ex-slaves settled in this area. As Cape Town expanded, very many people of varied provenance settled in District Six making it one of the most cosmopolitan²⁶ residential districts in the country

When the first municipality was established in 1840, the area had been named 'District

²⁶ Cosmopolitan refers to "all the people of the earth as many branches of a single family, and the universe as a state, of which they with innumerable other rational beings, are citizens, promoting together under the general laws of nature the perfection of the whole, while each in his own fashion is busy about his own well-being" – I use the term cosmopolitanism in this broad way as defined by Wieland and translated by Kwame Appiah (2006:xiii).

Twelve' (Swanson & Harries, 2001:63). But in 1867 the area was officially renamed 'District Six' after Cape Town was divided into six districts. In the 1880s the area suffered neglect and the municipality failed to upgrade essential services. Swanson and Harries (2001:63) state that because of District Six' strategic and scenic position, it became vulnerable to projects of urban renewal and slum clearance. In 1940 the Cape Town City Council commenced with their proposed plan of clearing inhabitants out of densely populated areas near the city centres. The city council represented the Nationalist government (in 1940) and they did this as a ploy to create separate areas for each population group. The Africans, like in most major cities in South Africa, were the first to be removed to their own segregated areas. The Africans in District Six were moved to Ndabeni with the stated reason being slum clearance. This marked the beginning of the end of District Six as a cosmopolitan, vibrant, noisy and energetic place. The passing of the Group Areas Act in 1950 and the declaration under the act of District Six as a white group area in 1966 marked the end of this colourful and energetic area.

Sophiatown had a similar history to Cape Town's District Six and Port Elizabeth's South End. This suburb also had a vibrant, cosmopolitan community and was subject to forced removals. It was more than fifty years ago, in 1955, that the first families of Sophiatown were forcibly removed from their homes. Their possessions were loaded onto the backs of police trucks and then dumped in Meadowlands in Soweto. The apartheid-era removals of the inhabitants of Sophiatown stretched over a period of eight years. The vibrant Sophiatown was flattened and gave way to the area ironically named 'Triomf' (Triumph in English), a residential suburb for whites (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:319).

The Native Resettlement Act (No. 19 of 1954), an Act which was a supplement of the Group Areas Act – this act will be outlined later – was the initiative of Dr. H.F. Verwoerd and had as its main aim to remove the so-called 'black spots' from the western areas of Johannesburg (Liebenberg, 1984:482). These 'black spots' included townships such as Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare, and wherever blacks were living in overcrowded and unhygienic conditions. Giliomee and Mbenga (2008:328) state that Sophiatown was an area where blacks had freehold land ownership and which the government was determined to expropriate because of its symbolic significance as the centre of cosmopolitan black urbanity and also because of its locality. In other words it was a black spot in the inner limits of Johannesburg. Liebenberg claims that "whites in the neighbouring suburbs insisted that the blacks concerned

be moved elsewhere so that the black suburbs which could in fact be classified as slums could be cleared” (Liebenberg, 1984:483).

The City Council of Johannesburg for example refused to co-operate with the government and the policy of the Nationalist government aroused opposition especially from the United Party and the African National Congress. The latter held meetings to protest against the evacuation of the people from Sophiatown. People who played an important role in the resistance included Father Trevor Huddleston, Nelson Mandela, Ruth First and Helen Joseph. It should be borne in mind that whereas the residents of Sophiatown had had rights of ownership of their homes, in Meadowlands they were merely permitted to rent the new houses. Poet and ex-resident of Sophiatown, Don Mattera, describes the pain and anguish of people forcibly removed in his poem ‘Sophiatown’:

We gave way
There was nothing we could do
Although the bitterness stung in us.
The day they came for our house
(1989)

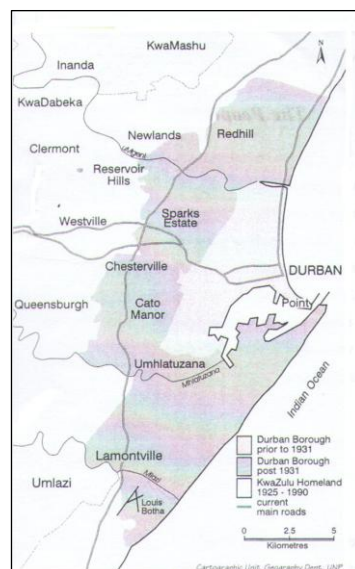
Sophiatown originally formed part of the farm Waterval 79 and was bought in 1897 by a Johannesburg businessman, Mr H. Tobiansky (André Proctor cited by Belinda Bozzoli, 1979:57). He leased it to the government with the offer for them to use it as a location for coloured people. Tobiansky called it ‘Sophiatown’ after his late wife. Although the area was surveyed in 1903 it was only established in 1905. Before 1913 black South Africans had had freehold rights, and they had bought properties in the suburb. By the 1920s the whites had moved out, leaving behind a vibrant community of blacks, coloureds, Indians and Chinese.

Cato Manor, a suburb in Durban, had a similar history to Sophiatown and District Six. It was also affected by forced removals in which residents were uprooted from their homes in terms of the infamous Group Areas Act and resettled in townships. Cherryl Walker (2008:149) explains that Cato Manor covers an area of hills and valleys cut through by small rivers and streams and is about 1 800 hectares in size. It is located a few kilometres from the port and overlooks the central business district and the sea. The area was granted to George Christopher Cato in 1865, as a reward for his years as a member of the community and for the fact that he became Durban’s first mayor (Allan Jackson, 2006). The land was sub-divided in the early 1900s and leased to Indians market gardeners many of whom were former indentured labourers who came to South Africa from India.

Many Indians settled here just outside the city limits (see map, p.32) and grew bananas and plated market gardens (Weinberg, Robbins, & Mhlope *et al.* 2002:11). It is clear from the map that the government of the day deliberately placed Indians outside the city limits, to have better control over the Indians and to curtail Indian urbanisation. Indians then discovered a more profitable business of renting space to black tenants to erect shacks:

they discovered that shack farming was more lucrative: there were always Africans needing space on which to live close to the city. This situation culminated in the race riots of 1949, Black Africans, tenants against Indian landlords (Weinberg, *et al.* 2002:11).

Map 1: The greater Durban area



Source: Paul Maylam & Iain Edwards, 1996 (Inside page of back cover)

Black people started moving into the area in the late 1920s and renting the land from the Indians. The authorities in Durban were keen to have black people around town for their labour but they were concerned that the relatively small white community would be overwhelmed if even controlled black urbanisation was allowed. The authorities therefore introduced a system which could control the influx of people by requiring them to have a permit.

Paul Maylam (1996:20) states that the African influx control into Durban (and specifically into Cato Manor) in the 1930s and 1940s was accompanied not only by occupation of

physical space and the exploitation, by some, of economic openings, but also by the carving out and penetration of political space for the expression of protest against various forms of oppression. In South End similar measures (namely, the permit system) were used to control the influx of Africans into the area. Africans were also one of the first groups who were forcefully removed from South End in the 1950s. They were moved to areas like New Brighton and Walmer Location.

The economic boom which took place in South Africa and more particularly in Durban during World War II had led to the increased growth of Cato Manor. This in turn led to an increased demand for labour. By the end of the war there were probably 3 000 squatters in the area and during the 1949 riots, Indian traders and landlords were replaced by black traders and shack lords (Weinberg, *et al.*2002:11).

Tension was created when residents were given instructions to move, with the passing of the Group Areas Act in the late 1950s. The residents were to be moved and resettled in townships, mainly in KwaMashu. This ended the restrictions placed on brewing, and the sale of beer led to riots in June 1959. Four people died and seventy nine people were injured during the riots. Resistance to the forced removals continued and the last of the shacks were demolished in August 1964 (Walker, 2008:153).

Ronnie Govender, the renowned South African poet and playwright who hails from Cato Manor, reminisces and mourns the loss of this community through the loss of physical space and evocative social rituals in his poem entitled “Cato Manor”:

Silence now and hush
no more Discovery Road
no more Trimbone Road
no more hopscotch
no more ripe mangos from Thumba's yard
Cato Manor you have done your penance
and crumpled eviction notices
(At the edge and other Cato Manor Stories, 1996:149).

The Malay Camp was situated in Kimberley and had a similar history to Cape Town's District Six and Johannesburg's Sophiatown. It was a suburb which had a diverse community and which originated in the early days of Kimberley's existence. The Malay Camp was subjected to forced 'slum clearance' after the owner, mainly De Beers Consolidated Mines, donated the area to the Kimberley Municipality in 1939. The political

system which controlled the municipality at that stage was the Smuts government. The motive for forced removals was mainly political, that is, to segregate people and to control the influx of Africans in the area. The residents of the Malay Camp were thus affected by forced removals much earlier than their counterpart in District Six, South End and Sophiatown. The demolition of houses, churches, mosques, shops and other buildings occurred from the 1940s, prior to the apartheid forced removals dictated by the Group Areas Act. This brought an end to the vibrant and multicultural community which had once lived in the Malay Camp.

North End, in East London, was an area which also had a multicultural community and was also affected by the notorious Group Areas Act. Cornelius and Kathy Thomas (2008:9), claim that the demolition of the said area reminded them of the removals of thousands of Jews in Europe:

The destruction of North End was as complete as that of Cato Manor, Sophiatown, District Six and South End in South Africa. The removals of North Enders reminded me of the pogromic removal of thousands of Jews from the shtetls of Poland-Branks, Jedwabne and Ejszyski. It followed policymakers' inhumanity to communities in Poletown (Pittsburgh) and Black Bottom (Detroit) in the United States of America. North Enders similarly experienced the trauma of being herded into new areas – call them locations ghettos, schemes, projects or townships, if you will. Except in the case of North End the iron-fisted strike against community lasted much longer than anywhere else in South Africa, or in the world for that matter – a quarter of a century.

North End did not only suffer the same fate as District Six and the other areas, but also had the same humble beginnings. The area started out as a German settlement in the form of smallholdings in the latter half of the 19th century (Thomas & Thomas, 2008:11). The urban development of the town impacted on the area. Owners subdivided and let or sold holdings and upmarket homes were owned mostly by whites. Many of the early inhabitants namely coloureds, Indians, Chinese and whites moved into the neighbourhoods from surrounding farms or migrated from elsewhere in South Africa, mostly from the mining areas and Durban (Thomas & Thomas, 2008:11). These groups moved mainly to seek a better future in East London.

Over the years there was a gradual flow of people moving into North End. With the

Second World War and post-war boom, more people of colour moved into the area. This resulted in suburbanization (for whites) and ghettoization (for African, coloureds and Indians). By the early 1950s North End had changed profoundly in terms of the influx and relocation of people, with the implementation of the Group Areas Act. Thomas and Thomas (2008:12) state that the irony of these movements is that North End whites moved into dwellings vacated in the suburbs by coloureds and Indians.

During the era prior to the forced relocations, despite their diversity, people lived at peace with one another and shared in one another's joys and sorrows:

North Enders shared their religious festivals – Christmas (the birthday of Jesus), Diwali (the festival of light), and Eid Mubarak [sic] (the end of the fast in the month of Ramadan) – with one another. While the core spiritual aspects of these religions took place within expected, accepted and respected parameters, their public manifestations touched all.

(Thomas & Thomas, 2008:44)

Religion, education and sport played an important role in the lives of North Enders, as it brought the community together and these social agents' sustained families, friends and the community at large. The harmonious co-existence within this multi-cultural community was ended with the implementation of the Group Areas Act and the subsequent removal of the residents of North End.

The above is a brief account of areas in South Africa that had a similar composition as that of South End and that suffered a similar fate. This relationship is described to emphasize that despite the similarities, these areas also had their differences and this is what makes each suburb unique. In summary Cato Manor, the Malay Camp, Sophiatown and North End had a similar history to that of South End in that they were at one stage vibrant, colourful and multicultural areas. The composition of residents was also similar in that their lives were transformed by the Group Areas Act. All these areas though were affected by forced removals in terms of the Group Areas Act. The blacks were in the unfortunate position that they bore the brunt of forced removals. Aside from the fact that they were moved much earlier than the other groups, they were also moved further away from the central areas. Community biographies of forcibly removed communities of South Africa should thus be seen in the context of both national and local history.

This chapter was largely a review of literature on community biography both historical and fictional, as well as literature on forced removals that pertain to my study on South End. In the next chapter I will deal with the birth, growth and death of the area.

CHAPTER 2

THE DISAPPEARING PRESENT: HISTORY

The past is a rich resource on which we can draw in order to make decisions for the future.

(Nelson Mandela (cited in
Jennifer Crwys-Williams (ed.)
2004:47)

A people without their knowledge of their past history, origin and culture, is like a tree without roots.

Marcus Garvey (n.d.)

This chapter foregrounds a particular national and regional history that has a bearing on the emergence of the community of South End. Furthermore, it is important to note that the points of reference of this study are history, place, subject and subjectivity. This chapter will deal mainly with history, but in the process it is a history of a community, it is a history located in a particular place and from a particular subject position.²⁷

The general focus of this study is forced removals, the destruction and memory of place. This chapter will deal mainly with the birth of South End to its 'mature' years and then finally to its destruction, its death as place. Historical texts and interviews of ex-residents are used to construct this history; through close analysis of written and oral accounts I attempt to merge a broader social history of place with more personal and affective histories. Lastly my own experiences of South End are placed in relation to those of the subjects of the biography as an additional source of these histories.

A biography of South End – the birth

South End can be regarded as one of the oldest suburbs in Port Elizabeth. South End was originally a farm called Papenbiesjesfontein. It was after 1859 that the estate which belonged to Johanna Magdalena Gardner was subdivided into building allotments. This marked the beginning of the present day South End (Redgrave, 1947:71).

²⁷ I mentioned earlier that I was born in South End, did part of my primary schooling there, that my family was forcibly removed from there and was relocated to Salt Lake, to the northern part of Port Elizabeth. All this will obviously have an influence on my writing of this project; however, I will endeavour to be as objective as possible, regarding my own stories as one amongst many.

In the 17th century South End was an uninhabited area rich in indigenous flora (but including invasive wattle)²⁸ and fauna (for instance small buck, including the grysbok (grey buck and the oribi)). The area was also roamed by the Fingoes or the Mfengus as they were known, who had arrived in the area in the early 1800s (Redgrave, 1947:72). The Mfengus were later moved to Gubb's Location in 1863 as part of segregation plan of the British colonial government (AJ Christopher, n.d.:36). Christopher (n.d.:4) claims that the London Missionary Society initiated the segregationist policies in Port Elizabeth:

The earliest segregation policies were implemented in 1834, when the first location was established in Port Elizabeth by the London Missionary Society from the 1850s, municipal locations for the African population were set aside in both centres. Thus, at the turn of the century, half the African population was already segregated from the remainder of the population.

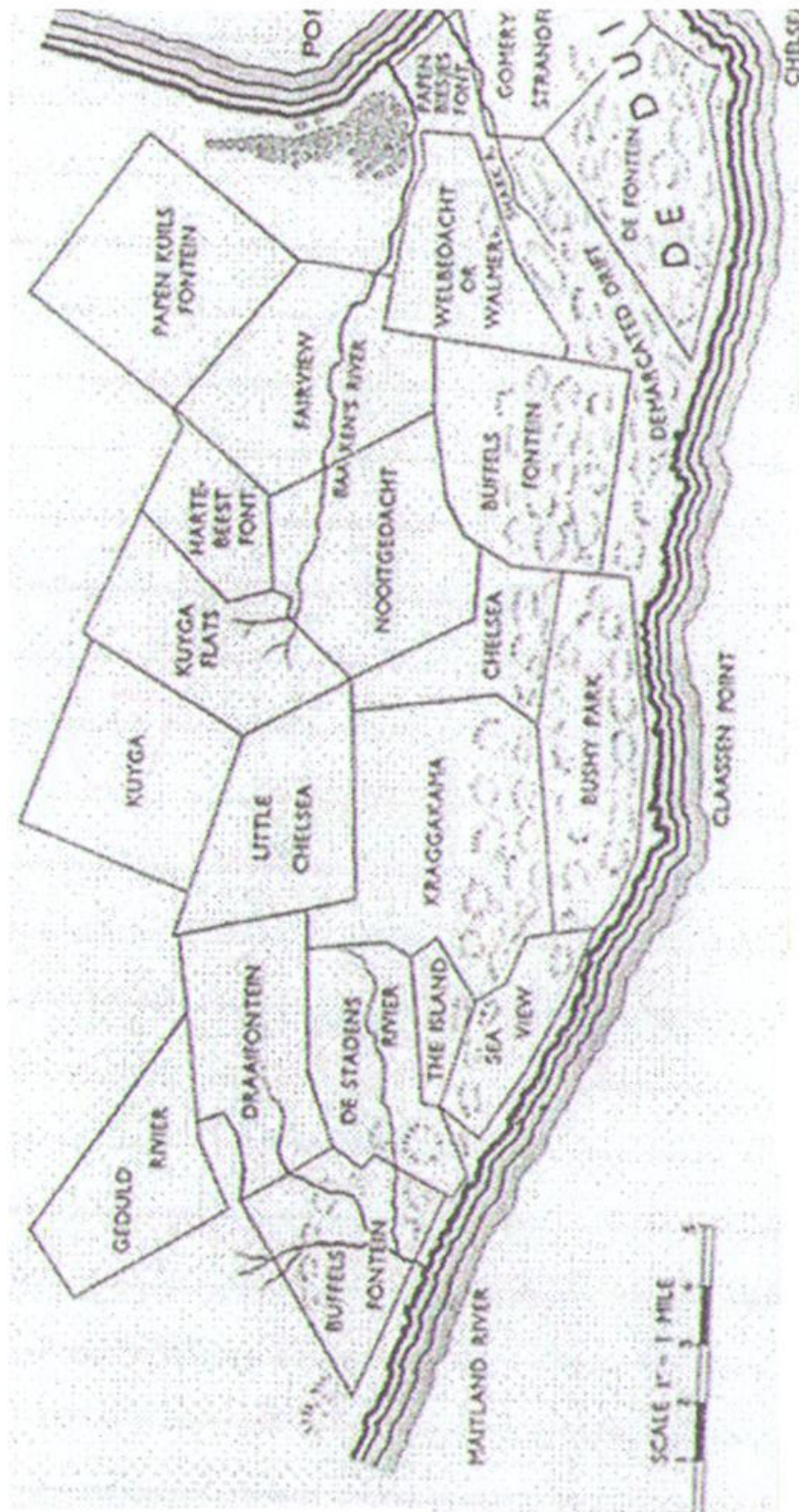
(Christopher, n.d.:4)

Thus the development of apartheid was firmly rooted in the colonial era segregationist policies of the British.

South End previously known as Papenbiesjesfontein (see Map 2) is situated close to the inner city of Port Elizabeth and lies nestled between Baakens Valley, a picturesque area through which the Baakens River flows, in the north and Humewood, previously known as Gomery, an affluent white area in the south, with Walmer, once an independent municipality and predominantly, white middleclass area bordering the west and the beachfront which lies east. The residents of Walmer and Humewood were white while South End was home to several different cultural and ethnic groups. These residents of Walmer and Humewood argued that South End was a slum area (in the 1950s and 1960s) and that it should be demolished (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:Introduction) The general opinion was that South End was a threat to the Group Areas. South End was a prime area and was situated close to all amenities (*Eastern Province Herald*, 1965).

²⁸ The wattle is a non-indigenous acacia tree with long flexible branches originating in Australia. The wattle together with the aloe, the sour fig and what I knew as the 'duinebessie' as a child are characteristics of the area.

Map 2: A map showing the earliest subdivision of land around Port Elizabeth (1850s)



Source: Redgrave (1947)

Until then South End was a farm and although plots were now available there, very few were purchased or developed. Most of the buildings and hence renting of houses was very expensive (Agherdien, *et al.*1997:4). At that time it was not yet the responsibility of the municipality to build houses for its inhabitants.

According to Redgrave (1947:72) the growth of South End was slow:

The development of South End was very slow and even in the late sixties [1860s] there were still very few dwellings in that part of town. Those that were in existence were of an extremely primitive architecture, not to speak of the wattle and daub huts and tin shanties of the Malay fishermen dotted along the foreshore.

South End in the early days was always referred to as “the place over the river” and access was gained by wading through the shallow part of the Baakens River or by obtaining a lift on passing wagons (Redgrave, 1947:72). Redgrave says further that a wooden footbridge for pedestrians was first erected, but the piles having rotted, the whole fragile structure was swept away during a great storm in 1847. The Malays then ferried people at a penny per crossing but this proved unsuccessful and people made requests for a new bridge. The bridge named the Union Bridge was subsequently built in 1852 and it was given that name because is connected the town with the “place over the river or South End”.

Malays, as Muslims were called in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, played a significant and prominent role in the development of South End and settled in the proximity of Central Port Elizabeth from the time of the founding of the city. The Malays are from Cape Town and had moved to Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage for a number of reasons. These included escaping from military duty in the face of the imminent British occupation of the Cape in 1795 to travellers with the Trekboers in the late 1700s (Agherdien, *et al.*1997:4). According to J.G. Nel (1987:19) the core group of Malays in Port Elizabeth came with the Seventh Frontier War:

the main body of Malays arrived in Port Elizabeth in 1846 when a number of those who fought for the Colonial Army against the Xhosas, decided to establish themselves in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage after the war on the Eastern Frontier.

Abdul Gakiem Abrahams (1988:20) holds the same opinion that the main group of Malays stayed behind after the two wars, namely the Battle of Blaauwberg and the Seventh Frontier War (Battle of the Axe):

The emergence of the Muslims in Port Elizabeth stems from the 1806 Battle of Blaauwberg, the Muslims who were conscripted into the army felt that rather than be conscripted, they would abscond, which they did and then eventually landed in Uitenhage.

Then there were the “Malay Corps” amongst whom were several Imams, who left Cape Town on 4 May 1846 and arrived in Port Elizabeth on 18 May 1846 to fight in the Battle of the Axe [Seventh Frontier War, 1846-1847]. But these Muslims cut short their interest in the battle when they learnt that the Governor in Cape Town was not supplying their families with food. Some Muslims who were there went back when the Malay Corps were dispersed on 16 September 1846. Those who did not return to Cape Town remained and settled in the Eastern Cape.

The Battle of Blaauwberg played a major role in the Malays ending up in Port Elizabeth and South End in particular. They were not only the first group to settle in South End, they were also the first that developed the area. Moreover, the emergence of the Malays in South End should be seen in the light of the contribution they made in terms of the history and politics of the area, the cuisine, customs, architecture and their presence in changing the landscape of the area.

As Port Elizabeth grew, many Malays were attracted to Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. In the first street directory of the inhabitants of Port Elizabeth drawn up in 1849, seventeen Malays and their families were mentioned of which eleven lived in the so-called Malay Quarters (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:4). The presence of the Malays between Main and Strand Street in Central Port Elizabeth was established when the Strand Street and Grace Street Mosques were built in 1866 and 1861 respectively.

Achmat Davids (1997:15) described the Malay Quarters as notorious:

At this period of its history the central part of Port Elizabeth also known as the Malay Quarters, was notorious for its unsavoury hotels and drinking houses. Nevertheless, it was in this area of unsavoury practices, where the first two mosques stood as beacons of morality.

Malay fishermen had already lived for a long time (since the 1840s) along the coast, south of the Baakens River (Agherdien *et al.* 1997:4) in the area later called South End. As mentioned previously the Malays were of the first to buy plots which were offered for sale in 1859. Agherdien, *et al.* (1997:4) are of the opinion that Malays were forcibly removed from the Malay Quarters to South End and that the policy to segregate whites from the other groups existed as early as the 1850s:

All the Malay families, except for three, would have been affected by the expansion programme of the Railways at the time. One can deduce however, that the later removal of Malays from the Malay Quarters to South End was a forced one. The central area of the city was being developed and Malays regarded as non-whites had to move.

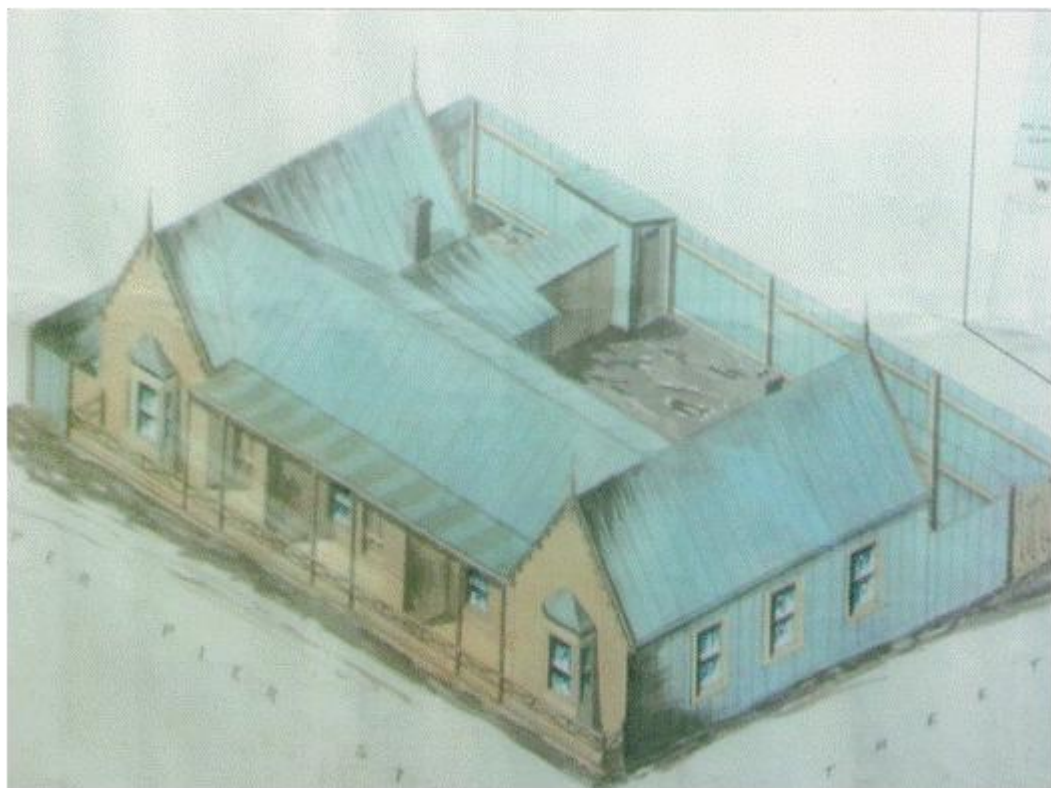
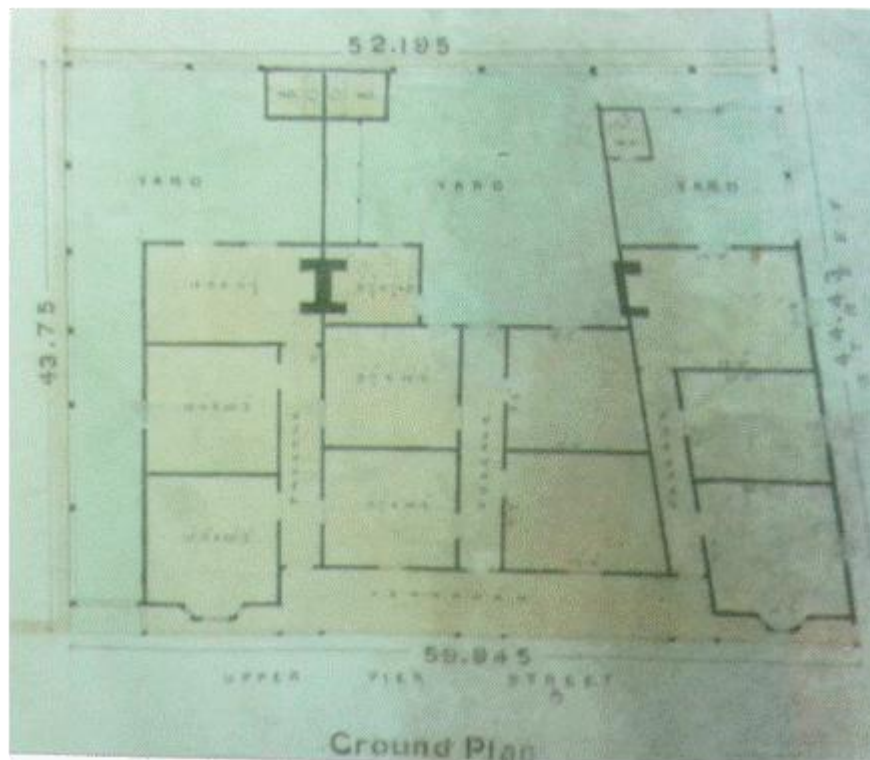
The first Malay families who moved to South End in the 1860s were the Bardiens and Dolleys. Then there was a lull and in the 1880s more families moved into South End.²⁹ My family, the Madatts (maternal), and the Hendricks's (paternal), moved into South End in the 1860s and 1890s respectively. Both families came from the Malay Quarters in Central, in inner Port Elizabeth. Initially these families occupied the area near the beachfront and they lived in Streets such as Union Street and Rudolph Street. Their occupations varied from boatman, shoe repairer, fisherman, painters, and tailor to mason. A few Malays were also unskilled.

The English were the next group that trickled into South End. They gave a new dimension to the area, in terms of their skills, knowledge and expertise. The architecture of the area was, for example, changed – splendid homes mushroomed and their occupations which included stonemasons, ship carpenter, blacksmiths, fitters, engineers, masons and carpenters gave impetus to the development of the area. One of the first English families that moved into South End was the Adams family.³⁰

²⁹ A few significant Malay families that moved into South End included the Madatts, Abdols, Abdullahs, Agherdiens, Gamats and Samies (Williams, 2010).

³⁰ Some of the other pioneer English families who moved into South End, include surnames such as the Bakers, Bears, Baileys, Brooks, Burchells, Butts, Clarkes, Dells and others (Williams, 2010).

Photo 1: **House in Upper Pier Street**



Source: Sara Pearson (South End Museum)

The architecture of the area changed from the primitive structures which included wattle and daub huts and tin shanties of the Malays to more sophisticated structures of the English. As an instance, Mr Rueberry of Upper Pier Street appointed the architect J. Thornhill Cook in 1882 to draw a plan of his house in Photo 1 (South End Museum).³¹ This was one of the many splendid homes that were constructed in South End. It consisted of eleven sections, three passages, a veranda, two front gables and three outside toilets. The building was 59.945 x 43.75 yards. The house plan is included merely to give the reader a visual image of the architectural style that existed in South End and to negate the perception that the area was a slum neighbourhood.

As to the skills mentioned above, many of them were relevant at the time, but since have become redundant. For example, a gunsmith who was a neighbour of Les Williams (2010:20), was

[a] wonderful man lived in Gladstone Street. He was Captain Sidney Douglas Treharne, a Bisley shottist and a professional gunsmith whose precision work earned him a national reputation. He owned the first motor car in our street – a 1921 Willy's overland. From when I was seven years old, he became my mentor and friend. He had no family of his own, but was a kind and understanding man who taught me so much.

Another skill that is no longer practised was whaling. Whaling was a lucrative business in Port Elizabeth and South End in particular. Cato Bailey (one of the subjects) related that his grandfather's brother was an avid whaler:

My grandfather's brother had a whaling boat, and when there is a whale in the bay, the children that played there, on the 'krans' [cliff in the quarry] there by South End High, and they spot the whale and the first one who says there is a whale in the bay used to get a gold sovereign.

This illustrates the significant role whaling played in the lives of the residents of South End during the 1920s and 1930s, as it was a form of income. Certain parts of the whale, like the blubber and the meat, were used for household and medicinal purposes. Redgrave (1947) alludes to this in his book, *P.E. in bygone days*.

³¹ The house plan is displayed in the foyer of the South End Museum and was donated by Sara Pearson.

South End also consisted of many wood and iron dwellings, as explained by Les Williams (2010:17):

When I was 5 months old my parents rented the wood and iron cottage at 26 Gladstone Street [South End] from Mr J.W. Lea and here I lived until 1948. These cottages had been built during the [Anglo] Boer War and were identical in layout and appearance.

South End thus consisted of different types of house and also houses of significant historical value, for instance those that were built during the Anglo Boer War (The South African War). Another important aspect is that not all the residents owned property; there were also those who rented houses. The owners were in the minority.

By the 1880s the development of the inner city of Port Elizabeth impacted on South End. This was mainly due to the fact that during the 1860s Port Elizabeth became the country's main harbour for imports. It handled 60 per cent of all foreign trade during the decade (A. Muller, n.d.:16), cited in *P.E. and Uitenhage Metropole Socio-Economic Monitor*, 2nd edition. At this point the British textile industry flourished and this in turn developed a demand for wool. The Cape government encouraged wool production as a means of improving living standards in the interior (Muller, n.d.:16). Small farms in the Graaff-Reinet district contributed to a rapid increase in wool production and Port Elizabeth being the closest and better equipped harbour naturally became the first choice. Wool became the most important export and constituted 82 per cent of total exports. Because of its prominence in the textile trade, Port Elizabeth became widely known as the 'Liverpool of the Cape'. All this impacted on the development and growth of Port Elizabeth in general and South End in particular.

South End's strategic position, its spectacular views, and its position in relation to the centre of Port Elizabeth and the harbour enhanced its attraction. At this point (1880-1892) a sizeable number of Afrikaners, English, Jews and the first Indian family (Ranga Sammy) moved into South End. South End was thus becoming increasingly a cosmopolitan society; the residents came from numerous parts of the world leaving their country of birth in search of a better life. This rapid urbanisation and influx of people of various origins was occurring in Southern Africa as it was elsewhere in the colonial world. For example, Homestead in the United States of America was undergoing a similar development and

cosmopolitan as South End. Serrin (1992:20-21) says the following about the cosmopolitan community of Homestead:

The people of Homestead came to the town from all over. Like many in the nation's history, they left the poverty and oppression of their own lands in search of a better life. Immigration to Homestead came in three waves. In the 1870s and 1880s came English, Welsh, Irish and Germans, including many skilled workers. Beginning in the late 1880s and lasting until the early 1920s came an even greater wave of Eastern Europeans – Poles, Slavs, Croats, Serbs, Hungarians, Russians – and Southern Europeans – Italians and Greeks. Also mixed in were Syrians, Mexicans and Gypsies. Beginning in the 1890s and running through the 1930s came black people, mostly from the south ...

The first Afrikaner families who settled in Port Elizabeth were Trekboers and arrived here in the region of 1770 (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:63). Later one of the famous Voortrekkers who settled in Port Elizabeth was Piet Retief in the 1800s. He had numerous properties in Port Elizabeth including Gomery (Humewood) and Central. It was in the Cape where the Great Trek started in 1834. The demand for new land and sources of labour constituted major reasons³² for the trek (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:112). Nigel Penn (2005:19) makes a similar comment regarding the demand for grazing which ultimately created conflict between the Trekboers and the Khoikhoi.

The movements of Trekboers from one area to another are important milestones in the history of the expansion of the colonial frontier. Not only does each movement mark the stage at which the resources of one region became insufficient to support the Trekboer society, it also marks the stage at which a new struggle for the control of a new area of pastoralist production commenced. It is no coincidence that the most intense fighting between the Trekboers and the Khoisan occurred during periods of transition from one resource area to another.

The Afrikaners, like the English, contributed to the development of Port Elizabeth, especially in terms of culture, architecture and skills. Some of the Afrikaner families in

³² Some of the other reasons the Trekkers migrated, besides the land and labour issues, include security which they felt the government was unable to address due to a lack of representation it gave rise to a profound sense of marginalisation (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:108).

the Street Directory of South End (1964/65) are Botha, Gerber, Van Greunen, Strydom, Gouws, De Lange, Smuts and Steyn.

Trekboers were nomadic pastoralists, which means that their lifestyle was very similar to that of the Khoi.³³ Travel writers, particularly the British travel writers of the 19th century, encountered Trekboers experienced this lifestyle. Neil Mostert (1992:165) comments that:

The seemingly perpetual wandering nature of the trekboer existence made it scarcely worthwhile to put such effort into a permanent homestead of any substance ... Some were satisfied with a large reed hut, in the native fashion ... they moved regularly, because the nature of the country and its grasses meant they required different pastures in different seasons. Then the flocks and herds were driven from one to the other.

The Trekboers adopted the dress code of the Khoikhoi (Mostert, 1992:165):

Their clothes were handmade, in the case of the males from the hides of their own beasts or from wild animals. Their blankets or 'karosses' were sewn from the pelts of jackals and other small and furry animals.

Giliomee and Mbenga (2008:67) give a similar account of the lifestyle of the burgers, which they adopted from the Khoi:

The burgers' interaction with the Khoisan led to large-scale cultural borrowing. In some aspects the trekboers resembled Africans rather than their kinsmen in the west. Like the Khoikhoi, they stored milk in skin sacks, dried strips of game (later called biltong), wore veldschoenen (sandals made from cowhide) and sometimes animal skin. Both Afrikaners and people of mixed origin were forced to adopt a pragmatic lifestyle that made survival possible in the African interior.

The interaction between trekboers and Khoisan created not only conflict between the groups but there was also a positive side to the encounters between these groups. It is evident that the trekboers, given the circumstances, the harsh climate, and the few

³³ The term Khoi is shorter form for Khoikhoi – they were pastoralists and were called 'Hottentots' by early white settlers. The San on the other hand were hunter-gatherers. They were called 'Bushmen' by the colonists. They were in fact former Khoikhoi. For this reason, scholars sometimes find it convenient to refer to hunters and gathers together as Khoisan (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:19-20). In this study the terms Khoikhoi and Khoisan will be used interchangeably.

resources at their disposal, derived numerous benefits for this interaction. Giliomee and Mbenga rightfully state that the trekboers were compelled to adopt a pragmatic lifestyle that made survival possible. This did not only include their basic needs but it also included copying the housing structures of the Khoi and also using natural medicines.

The British travel writers John Barrow and W.J. Burchell commented on the fact that the way of life of the Trekboers was virtually “indigenous” in other words; they ingeniously used the skills and lifestyle of the Khoi to survive. The British Settlers had a different lifestyle in comparison with the Trekboers. The former were undoubtedly not only more sophisticated but also technologically more advanced than the Trekboers. This is so because at that point in time Britain has undergone an industrial revolution. With the arrival of the 1820 Settlers the area of Algoa Bay and immediate surroundings became an altered place. For instance, the British army arrived, a well-organised administrative system and civil service were put in place, makeshift hospitals were erected and businesses were established soon after their arrival.

A number of South-Enders identified origins to the settlers, including two of my respondents Cato Bailey and Eileen Wilson. However, apartheid impacted negatively on both families. The Bailey family was divided by apartheid; they had a section classified as white and the other as coloured. The Wilsons, as an English family, vehemently opposed apartheid and, with the implementation of the Group Areas Act, preferred to emigrate to New Zealand. The settlers carried with them various skills, as journalists, farmers, tradesmen, wealthy individuals, professionals, soldiers, teachers, clergy and many others besides. British institutions also made inroads into the commercial as well as the political and cultural life of the Colony (Davenport, 1991:40).

The English³⁴ families in South End were mainly descendents of 1820 British settlers. The first British settlers arrived in Algoa Bay in the vessel *The Chapman*, on 10 April 1820. Thomas Pringle, South Africa’s first English language poet, was also on board the ship. Pringle later made a major contribution to South African literature, in terms of the poems

³⁴ Captain Francis Evatt was one of the well-known pioneers establishing Port Elizabeth. He arrived in the city in 1806 and later replaced Colonel Cuyler as Commandant of Fort Frederick. Captain Evatt was often referred to as the ‘Father of Port Elizabeth’ (Harradine, 1994:15). The other renowned pioneer of Port Elizabeth is Sir Rufane Donkin. He became acting Governor of the Cape in the 1820s. Port Elizabeth was named after Donkin’s wife who died in India.

and memoirs he left behind. The British Settlers were major contributors to the welfare and development of Port Elizabeth and South End in particular. For example, in 1845, the town already had an exchange and a small bank, a post office and a customs house, and a chapel, a school and one weekly newspaper, a small jetty and many large stores, shops and buildings chiefly along High (Main) Street (Redgrave, 1947:33).

When the settlers arrived in what was to become Port Elizabeth, they had to face a number of challenges, and then there were also their expectations, their hopes and their fears. The settlers, however, had a profound effect on the inhabitants already stationed in Port Elizabeth. It should be borne in mind that the settlers were not rural people. A large section was urban artisans and they were unwilling to live off the land, therefore they turned to avenues of trade and manufacture (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:86). Furthermore, the Settlers were used to dealing in commercial transactions and bartered with both Afrikaners and Xhosas in exchange for valuable commodities.

Those who pursued farming were faced with numerous challenges stemming from being in an environment alien to their experience, including droughts, floods and locusts. A section who persevered eventually found a product suited for the area, in the form of the production of fine wool. It was so successful that fine wool production became the most important industry of the area and contributed significantly to the economic development of the frontier districts (Kotze in Muller, 1984:132).

The settlers also played a leading role in Cape affairs, especially the administration in general, the freedom of press and the establishment of the Executive and Legislative Councils. They helped to develop the South African economy in general and trade and industry in particular (Kotze, 1984:132). Like the settlers, Jews also emigrated to South Africa to seek a better life. The Jews constitute one of the smallest groups in South Africa and their history in Africa dates back to the Pharaohs. They were among the early explorers who circumnavigated the Cape, but for religious reasons were denied settlement at the Cape during the rule of the Dutch East Indian Company.³⁵ It was only in 1804 when J.W. Jansens was governor at the Cape that religious tolerance was extended to Jews and

³⁵ Jews were not allowed to settle in the Cape mainly because they were non-Protestants, not keen to assimilate and were regarded to have 'alien' values and practices (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:275).

other groups (Mendelsohn & Shain, 2008:4). The Jews, who were only a handful at that stage, accepted this new opportunity.

The majority of the English settled in Cape Town and others ventured to coastal cities like Port Elizabeth or into the hinterland. The majority of Jews at that stage were mainly of English, Dutch and German origin. The Jews and other settlers ventured into the interior and created a market for the wool industry. These settlers contributed to a rapid increase in wool production in Graaff-Reinet and other areas in the Cape (Muller, n.d.:16). It was at a time when there was a constant demand of wool for overseas textile industries.

The story of the Jews in Port Elizabeth dates back to the arrival of the British Settlers. Among the members in the Bell Alliance reaching the Bay in May 1820 were the following Jewish families: the Nortons, Simmons and Slomans (Redgrave, 1947:520). A number of Jewish families came from other parts of the Colony and from Europe to Port Elizabeth. The Jewish settlers who arrived in Port Elizabeth established themselves in areas like North End, Richmond Hill and South End. The following families were those who settled in South End: Cohen, Goulding, Zimmerman, Schaefer, Katzen. The businesses they established in the area were, for example, Volpe's Drapery, Joe Davis Hardware, Markowitz General Dealer and Rosenberg's Dress Shop (South End Street Directory, 1964/5).

Leo Davis, the son of Joe Davis, explains that his grandparents hailed from the East of London:

both my parents' parents in other words my grandparents were born in the East End of London. My one grandfather was a tailor, he had to discontinue that. He went blind at an early age. My other grandfather was a bookmaker and he lived in Port Elizabeth. His name was Laurie Davis and he was involved with Hobson, Sam and Pollak. I remember he was involved with them in business, the bookmaking business.

Then there was also the group from Eastern Europe. They came mainly from the Baltic States, Poland, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia. In these Eastern European countries their lives had been a succession of pogroms and persecutions. The Russian Czarist Empire, with its hard conscription laws and inherent anti-Semitism, drove the Jews to such new shores to practise their deep Orthodox tradition (Schapiro, 1984:1). Despite their hardship

and struggle for survival, many Jews were reluctant to compromise their identity and they maintained their culture, tradition and religion through their lives. A number of Jews also later played a significant role in the fight against apartheid and joined struggle groups to advance their cause. Prominent names that come to mind are Ronnie Kasrils, Joe Slovo, Nadine Gordimer, Helen Suzman and others. The role played by these activists in the struggle is reminiscent of the character Katzen, the Jewish shopkeeper who opposed oppression, in Richard Rive's *Buckingham Palace', District Six*. Katzen also vehemently opposed forced removals and was one of the last residents who was evicted from District Six.

Port Elizabeth also had numerous Jewish struggle heroes. One that comes to mind is André Ungar, a Hungarian by birth, a Reform rabbi and Holocaust survivor. Rabbi Ungar spoke out regularly against the iniquities of apartheid in the mid-fifties and incurred the wrath of members of his communities (Mendolsohn & Shain, 2008:142). His political activities also lead to his expulsion in 1956 from the country by the Minister of Interior, Dr. T.E. Dönges (*EP Herald*, 1956).

Photo 2: Rabbi André Ungar



Source: *E.P. Herald* (1956)

The first Port Elizabeth Hebrew Congregation was formed in a house in Queen Street, Richmond Hill (an area adjacent to South End) in September 1862. The house was hired and fitted out as a synagogue with seats for 60, a reading desk and an Ark. The members met for the first time on 25 and 26 September 1862 to celebrate the New Year. The Diocesan Grammar School was taken over as the Synagogue in about 1865 and served until the Western Road Synagogue (Richmond Hill) was opened (Harradine, 1994.:53).

The Indians on the other hand, like some of the Jews, also hail from the East. They were a much bigger group in South End though. They also came to South Africa to seek a better

future. Indians came mainly to South Africa as labourers to work in the sugarcane plantations in Natal which was known for its favourable sugar growing potential. They followed the example of Mauritius, which developed into a prosperous sugar cultivation industry and used imported indentured labour from India. A small number of non-indentured or 'passenger' Indians, who paid for their own passage, form part of the migrants who settled in South Africa. They were in search of a new life and new opportunities. The first group of labourers who came from Madras went ashore in Durban on the morning of 17 November 1860 (Agherdien, *et al.*1997:7). Although Madras and Calcutta were the main parts of embarkation, emigrants came from almost every part of India. Many immigrants also came from Mauritius. The first arrival of Indians in the Cape Colony during the early 1880s settled mainly in Port Elizabeth and East London.

The Muthayans's was one of the Indian families who came from India and settled in South End. Soopiah Muthayan, one of my respondents and former resident of South End, related that his father was a young man when he came to Port Elizabeth:

My father, my late father was originally from India arrived here [at the age of] 19 [in the] early 1900s. He was the only one of his family coming over with some elderly folks. My mother was a housewife and her family came via Mauritius, but she was born in Kimberley and then she came down to Port Elizabeth and married my father.

The indentured Indians had a difficult time adapting and adjusting to the new environment and circumstances. Firstly, there were many instances of unhappiness and distress that accompanied the indenture system. Surendra Bhana and Bridglal Pachai (1984:2) state that conditions were severe and at time unbearable:

The conditions were harsh and restrictive and many cases, not too far removed from slavery. There are complaints of low wages, long hours, low rations, inadequate attention to social and medical needs, and also of beatings.

Bhana and Pachai (1984:2) document the case of an indentured Indian, Hureebhukat (10 February 1877) who worked at Umgeni Sugar Estate, who one morning told the manager he was sick and went home. Later the manager went to him and struck him with a whip and ordered him to go back to work. There was also, according to Bhana and

Pachai (1984:2), the case of another Indian Bhagoo (19 February 1884) who worked for four months and had not received any wages.

There were also reports of prejudice, the harshness of curfew laws, exploitations, restrictions on Indians practising their-religious obligations, suicide, and restrictions placed on Indians from trading. A typical example of this gross exploitation and restrictions placed on Indians around 1950s and 1960s (especially where jobs are concerned) is the case of Soopiah Muthayan. He explained that despite having a BSc degree, he was not allowed to take up a position in a laboratory:

As I said, I did a BSc, but I couldn't get a job in the laboratory. I knew I didn't want to be a teacher ... so for five, six years I drove a truck and then I got involved in the maintenance of trucks. The only job I closely could get to a lab job was at the Wool Board in the basement, to open the woolbags and take out samples, because they didn't allow me to work in the lab. In the lab they had people who only had a JC [Standard 8 Certificate]. Here I had a BSc and couldn't work next to a white man.

Mohandas Gandhi, lawyer and campaigner for the rights of Indians, experienced the restrictions placed on Indians and noticed the contempt with which they were treated, when he arrived in South Africa in 1893:

when the steamer reached Durban ... He immediately noticed the contempt with which Indians were treated by Europeans in South Africa. The political contempt, rather than case law was to underlie his major work here (Adams, 2010:43).

Photo 3: Mahatma Gandhi in the 1880s



Source: Jad Adams (2010)

During the colonial era discrimination and segregation were already prevalent in South Africa. Adams (2010:44) refers to the restrictions placed on Indians and says that in the 1890s racial discrimination was severe in the Orange Free State. They were also forbidden to live there and in the Transvaal they were tolerated, but poorly treated. This discrimination stems mainly from the fact that Indians were regarded as the 'other', their religion and culture was foreign and they were seen as inferior. Indians were treated differently from other non-Europeans, because they posed a threat economically, as many of them were skilful businessmen, were goal oriented, valued education and their numbers were also a grave concern to the whites. Successive white governments therefore found it necessary to implement stringent laws to curb the Indians. In 1877, as an example, the Natal government passed bills which restricted the immigration of free Indians and also a competency test in a European language was demanded. The previous year they were excluded from registering as voters (Van Zyl cited in CJF Muller, 1984:229). Other rights that Indians were denied, especially in Transvaal were citizenship rights and rights to own property. During the General Botha and Jan Smuts government, the conditions of the Indians did not improve. In 1913 an Immigration Act was passed, which made further immigration for Indians impossible (BJ Liebenberg cited in CFJ Muller 1984:398). Smuts on the other hand was in favour of mass deportation of Indians.

Further, Adams (2010:43) argues that this resentment towards Indians in particular was as a result of the competition the Indians posed to the Europeans:

Asians were resented because they seem an unstoppable force – there was an apparently inexhaustible supply of migrants from India and China; in South Africa their ability to live frugally and work hard meant they prospered, their supportive family structures providing the ideal setting for raising children. If the Europeans let them, they feared the Asians would soon outnumber the whites and outperform them economically.

Indians were initially imported to alleviate the shortage of labour that existed in Natal. These labourers were imported at the government's cost and indentured to employers for three years. They had to be paid a fixed amount every month, with an increase in the second and third year. After three years the Indians either had to be indentured for another two years or could buy their freedom for £2.10.0 for each of those three years (Van Zyl cited in Muller, 1984:210). After five years they were free to live and work as they chose.

Although all Indian immigrants landed in Natal, many of them (mainly the passengers) made their way inland to the Free State, Transvaal and also to the Cape, especially East London and Port Elizabeth as stated before. They probably preferred Port Elizabeth mainly because of certain laws that were passed in the Free State and Transvaal that forbade them to own fixed property, restricting their movement, not allowing them to trade and confining them to special locations (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:271).

Despite all the hardship and challenges, they persevered – only a small number repatriated back to India – and became successful businessmen. Others who educationally uplifted themselves became teachers, doctors and lecturers. Lastly, despite the different religions – Hindus, Christians and Muslims and the cultural traditions associated with them – the Indians coalesced to form a close-knit unit and thereby adding a significant element to Port Elizabeth's and specifically South End's diversity (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:8).

The Khoikhoi, Fingoes and Xhosas were settled in Southern Africa long before the European settlement began in the mid-seventeenth century (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:19). The histories of the above-mentioned groups were marked by conflict with the European settlers, social discrimination, enslavement and oppression. The Khoikhoi and Fingoes first inhabited and roamed the areas of Port Elizabeth and South End in particular, long before it became colonised. The Khoikhoi were descendants of hunter-gatherers who had acquired livestock centuries earlier, probably in modern Botswana (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:19). The Khoi consisted of different groups which included the Koranas, the Namaquas and Ganaquas. These groups moved to different parts of Southern Africa and the Ganaquas settled in the focused area, namely the Eastern Cape.

The Khoikhoi not only herded cattle and sheep, they also hunted game. Their livestock was their main source of livelihood, but ironically it was also the source of their numerous problems. As herders, the Khoikhoi was forced to move constantly in search of better pasture and their constant trekking, at times, lead to conflict with other groups, for instance other Khoikhoi groups, the San and white settlers. The Khoikhoi culture was later undermined by contact with European colonisation and mainly economic factors forced them to partly abandon their way of life to service a colonial economy. Hence, many were employed as unskilled artisans, dockworkers (in the case of South End), street cleaners or railway workers (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:8).

The Khoikhoi was incidentally the first indigenous group which the Portuguese encountered in the late 1400s. The reception was one of hostility:

The natives kept their distance ... and refused to accept the presents that Diaz proffered. They eventually began hurling stones at the Portuguese. Diaz picked up a crossbow and shot one of the stonethrowers dead: the first indigene to be killed by the white man in Southern Africa (Mostert, 1992:22).

Later, the Khoikhoi were unwilling to barter with the demanding intruder Jan van Riebeeck, who regarded them as indolent as did a number of colonial historians like A.J. Boëseken cited in Muller, 1984:19:

He [Van Riebeeck] had not been able to use them as labourers, either one day's work, helping to carry wood from the forest, meant that the next day they would be too tired to do anything. They were, in fact, incapable of sustained work.

The Khoikhoi were "incapable of sustained" work simply because, they were in essence herdsmen and were used to a certain lifestyle. My understanding of the Khoikhoi history is that they just did not want to work. It was therefore imperative and inevitable that the new burghers had to import slaves. .

The encounter between coloniser and indigenous folk had begun in earnest, an encounter that marks history of the region in general and the Eastern Cape in particular since then. Furthermore, it was the dress of the Khoi and their language (which was a strange clicking of sound to the Europeans) which the new arrivals found strange, What affronted them most of all was what the Khoikhoi were willing to eat and what they did to their bodies (Mostert, 1992:35). Nakedness and lack of permanent dwelling structures were always to strike Europeans as proof positive of an inherent lack of morals and of unmitigated backwardness respectively (Mostert, 1992:35).

The Xhosas and Fingoes (also known as Mfengus) were herders, like the Khoikhoi. The three groups also shared a similar lifestyle. The Xhosas and Fingoes belonged to the Nguni group. The earliest Nguni speakers occupied the eastern coastal belt which had better natural resources than the interior and provided for mixed pastoralism and agriculture (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:37). The Xhosas consisted of a number of clans and even intermarried with the Khoikhoi. The Xhosas actually consisted of a main group

called the Gcalekas and smaller splinter groups included the Ngqika Xhosas and the Thembus. The frontier wars between the British settlers and the Xhosas led to the migration of the latter to other parts of the Cape including Port Elizabeth. The Fingoes shared some of the same customs as the Xhosas and like the latter group moved down the coastal belt of Natal and the Eastern Cape. The Fingoes were a breakaway group of the Zulus. They were attacked and scattered by other groups. These refugee groups settled among the Xhosas and some of them settled in areas like Port Elizabeth and the surrounding areas (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:106).

The Africans were, by the early 1900s, thinly spread in Port Elizabeth in general and South End in particular (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:8). They lived mainly at the bottom of Walmer Road in South End, near the harbour where many of them were employed. Africans made a major contribution to the welfare and growth of South End. Some of the family names in South End were Parley, Pemba and Zondi. The Africans were descendants of the Khoi, Xhosas and Fingoes.

The Africans bore the brunt in terms of segregation and discrimination from the 1830s. The earliest segregation policies were implemented in 1834, when the first location was established in Port Elizabeth by the London Missionary Society (Christopher, 1994:4).³⁶ From the 1880s, municipal locations were set aside in Port Elizabeth. The establishment of residential settlements continued in the second half of the nineteenth century. Between 1834 and 1903 a number of Black locations were established namely the London Missionary Location (1834), Native Strangers Location (1855), Cooper's Kloof Location (1862), Gubb's Location (1863), Reservoir Location (1889), Race Course Location (1896) and the New Brighton Location (1903) (Christopher, 1994:36).

Africans (as mentioned earlier) in South End lived mainly at the bottom of Walmer Road and South Beach Terrace, near the harbour because many of the Africans were mainly harbour workers. Their early removal already started in the early 1950s, to areas such as Walmer Township, New Brighton and Kwazakhele. It is ironic that Africans were moved to Walmer Township, as it was situated near Walmer which was a white suburb. The idea behind this move was to supply the residents of Walmer with African labourers.

³⁶ The motivation for this policy was to subjugate the Africans and the economic rationale was to use them as cheap labourers.

There was probably no resistance from the remaining community when Africans were removed from South End, or it was received with mixed feelings. Coloureds and Asians were moved at a much later stage and whites on the other hand had freehold. This means that they could stay on in South End, especially those who lived in the top part close to South End and or they could move to a number of white areas of their choice. This was not the case with the other groups; they were forcibly moved to designated areas.

These locations provided Port Elizabeth and South End specifically with labourers for unskilled jobs at the harbour, to build railway lines and manual labour. Aside from these labourers, many of the early African inhabitants moved into this neighbourhood from the farms surrounding Port Elizabeth. Augusta Parley³⁷ (one of the respondents) was one of those who came to South End for a better future:

I came from Samkama (the district of Graaff-Reinet) my father was Steven Mabuta and my mother was Mary Mabuta ... they were looking after cows, goats ... they didn't work for white people, they were working for themselves. I was fifteen [when I came to South End (1933)] ... In South End I work for the Makans [an Indian family].

Thus, Port Elizabeth and South End in specific were never short of labourers. Then there were also the coloureds that provided these areas with labourers in the form of unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled labour. The coloureds³⁸ were also of the first groups who inhabited South End and they formed an integral part of the history of this area. The coloured group also consisted of the St Helenians.

Mixed marriages and sexual relations across the colour line were not uncommon in South Africa, especially before the Apartheid era. Some of the original colonists whom Jan van Riebeeck had settled close to his fort had married black slaves (Mostert, 1992:174). It is further mentioned that Trekboers made use of Khoikhoi women, but they preferred African and Asian slave women. Sailors from visiting ships and soldiers in

³⁷ Augusta Parley does not appear in my list of interviewees in Chapter 1 because her age seems to affect her memory. However, on occasion her insight was fascinating.

³⁸ Viljoen (2013:221) is of the opinion that the term 'Coloured' is an identity category that has been continually asserted and contested since its inception in Southern Africa in the late nineteenth century. It is also a term that is severely resisted by many people of mixed heritage.

garrison also had sexual relations with either Khoikhoi or slaves. Mostert (1992:174) says that from all this the coloured community developed:

from all this there arose in the Cape a heterogeneous 'coloured' community where the mixed bloodlines continued to be crossed and recrossed endlessly, and from which in generation after generation there were to be many who 'passed' as white.

According to Zimitri Erasmus (2001:13) being coloured leaves many of its members in a 'discomfiting position' and here she speaks about her own experiences:

For me growing up coloured meant knowing that I was not only not white, but less than white; only black, but better than black (as we refer to African people). At the same time, the shape of my nose and texture of my hair placed me in the middle on the continuum of beauty as defined by both men and women in my community.

Erasmus (2001:17) adds that coloured identity has never been seen as an identity 'in its own right' and is always portrayed in a negative light:

It has been negatively identified in terms of 'lack' or taint, or in terms of 'remainder' or excess which does not fit a classificatory scheme. These identities have been spoken about in ways that associate them with immorality, sexual promiscuity, illegitimacy, impurity and untrustworthiness. For coloured people these associations have meant that identifying as coloured is linked to feelings of shame and discomfort.

The Population Registration Act of 1950 defined coloured as one who is not a European and not a Bantu. Further, it divided them into seven subgroups which included the Asiatics, but later the Asiatics were placed as a separate group. Coloureds are actually descendants of Europeans, slaves, the San and the Khoikhoi. Coloureds were mainly domestic servants, unskilled labourers at the one end and skilled labourers and mostly teachers at the other end. Church and mission schools carried the responsibility for coloured education. A number of laws were designed to undermine the economic status of the coloureds, for instance, the 1911 Mines and Works Act, the 'Juvenile Affairs Act' of 1921 set up mechanisms for the placement of white youth into suitable employment while the Apprenticeship Act of 1922 put apprenticeships beyond the reach of the vast majority of coloured youths by stipulating a Standard Six pass as a minimum qualification for entry as

apprentice in 41 trades (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). When discrimination against coloureds intensified in the early twentieth century they were forced to mobilise politically. The leading political organisation which emerged from among the coloureds was the African Political Organisation (APO). Established in 1902, the APO was essentially a middleclass body and fought for compulsory schooling for coloured children, and political rights (Davenport & Saunders, 2000).

The St Helenians came to the Cape for the same reasons as the Indians, that is to look for employment and a better future and like the Cape Malays they were classified by the Nationalist Government as coloureds. They came to South Africa as of 1878, from the island of St Helena in the South Atlantic (Agherdien, *et al.*1997:8). St Helena is an island of volcanic origin and was 'discovered' by a Portuguese Juan de Nova Castella on 21 May 1502 on his way home from India (Melanie Yap & Leong Man, 1996). The island became a vital strategic port to ships sailing to Europe from the East and was used as a refreshment station to passing ships. It was also a station where sailors who were desperately ill would recover. St Helena changed hands three times: it was under Portuguese, Dutch and British rule over the years. In the 19th century St Helena became an important centre to host liberated African slaves. It was the residence of British soldiers, soldiers of the East Indian Company; slaves from Africa, Madagascar and India (Yon, 2007:150). St Helena was the place of exile for numerous leaders including Napoleon Bonaparte, Dinuzulu, the Zulu leader in 1888 and the Boer prisoners-of-war during the South African War (Muller, 1984:288 & 333).

One can thus assume that the St Helenians who settled in Cape Town were of the descendants of one or more of the groups mentioned above. Some of the St Helenians subsequently moved to Port Elizabeth and settled in South End, North End and Richmond Hill. They were mainly English speaking and belonged either to the Anglican or Roman Catholic denominations. They followed an English lifestyle and many of them bore English surnames such as Bailey, Williams, Yon, George, Burton, Sinden. These emigrants were mainly tradesmen such as bakers, shoemakers, confectioners and others (Agherdien, *et al.*1997:8).

St Helenians, were of mixed heritage, although many St Helenians did not want to be classified as such (Mrs C. Williams, former resident of South End). Some St Helenian

diaspora vehemently resisted being classified as coloured purely because they felt they were connected to Britain and spoke English; they regarded themselves as more educated and better skilled and lastly they felt they were more sophisticated. The fact that the St Helenian emigrants regarded themselves as ‘superior’ stems from the stories about the indigenous inhabitants and the reports of the local newspapers reference to the latter as ‘half savage’ (Yon 2007:154). According to Yon (2007:155) the attachment to their place of birth and their cultural and racial difference affected their relation with the indigenous inhabitants:

The sense of ‘affection’ for the island and the perception of cultural and racial difference (perhaps superiority?) suggested in the comparison with the ‘half-savage people’ became important for thinking about how the St Helenians in South Africa came to imagine themselves in relation to the almost ‘mythical’ place of St Helena in the South Atlantic World, as well as their relationship to indigenous South Africans, in the twentieth century.

Viljoen (2013:11-12) concurs that St Helenians disliked being classified into a specific racial group:

St Helenians diaspora in the Cape and in other coastal areas in South Africa – Port Elizabeth, Durban, Port Nolloth often asserted their connection to Britain and were generally resistant to being pigeonholed into racial categories, particularly under apartheid, as ‘Cape coloureds’. While this attitude marked a progressive resistance to apartheid’s grand plan, there was also among some an attitude that having St Helenian ancestry made you a ‘better coloured’.

This short history and new developments marked the birthing of the modern, cosmopolitan, colourful and vibrant community that existed in South End by the turn into the twentieth century. I will now focus on the growth of South End between the periods 1880-1930.

The growth of South End (1880-1930)

By 1860, Port Elizabeth was rich³⁹ in terms of its cultural diversity, in the form of the Khoikhoi, San, Xhosas, Mfengus, Malays, Trekboers, coloureds, Indians, Jews and Chinese. The latter arrived on the Norfolk in 1849 (Harradine, 1994:46), and I examine their arrival in more detail later in this chapter. Port Elizabeth was not only rich in human resources, but also in terms of agriculture, commerce, industries and infrastructure. The production of wool, for instance, gave the Port Elizabeth economy and harbour a boost. It became the most important harbour in the 1860s. The harbour handled 60 per cent of all foreign trade during the decade and due to its pre-eminence in the textile trade (A. Muller, n.d.:16).

During this decade Port Elizabeth also received full municipal status (Joyce, 2007:55):

By 1861, when the town received full municipal status, substantial buildings (including a new city hall) and elegant colonial homes, designed in styles reflecting the settlers' rural British roots graced the town's thoroughfares.

Full municipal status in the above context means that Port Elizabeth was now regarded as a fully-fledged town. It also meant that the citizens now enjoyed certain privileges such as services of infrastructure and basic services. The period 1860-1870 saw the infrastructure of the city rapidly growing. It contained warehouses, a Provincial Hospital, 3 Episcopalian churches, 1 Roman Catholic church, 2 Presbyterian churches, 1 Baptist and Wesleyan church, Commissariat and Ordinance buildings, handsome private dwelling houses, banks, insurance companies, numbering over 1 600 buildings, with a population of nearly 10 000 souls (Muller, n.d.:17). However, a differential between wealthier and poorer existed at that point in time, as these facilities were available, but mainly the rich, and largely European, benefitted. The poor could not afford private dwellings, nor could they make loans from the bank as they had no collateral. And what was there for them to insure? One can imagine that the majority of the 10 000 souls did not fall in the bracket of the wealthy group. According to the street directory of South End (compiled by Les Williams, 2010) the majority of the residents, that lived there between 1860-1870 were unskilled. Thus the majority would then rent, rather than own property.

³⁹ The city was rich in its multiple cultures. However, the interactions between people with different historical backgrounds were the product of and continued to be marked by conflict.

Photo 4: South End in the early 1900s – South Union Street



Source: PE Main Library

The growth of Port Elizabeth and South End during 1870 to 1900 saw a period of prosperity kick in after diamonds were discovered (1870);⁴⁰ Port Elizabeth entered the railway age (1871) with the discovery of diamonds, the Oriental Bank (1871) was opened, the first tram (horse drawn – 1881) was introduced, the South Jetty was completed (1884), the sale of ostrich feathers commenced in the Feather Market Hall (1885) and the electric tramway system came into operation in 1897 (Harradine, 1994).

How did these early modern developments in Port Elizabeth impact on South End and what developments took place specifically in South End during the above-mentioned period (1870-1900)? Firstly, South End's location and its strategic position – the fact that it was adjacent to central Port Elizabeth – played a significant role in its growth and development. Secondly, South End benefited as it was close to all the available amenities that existed in central Port Elizabeth. And thirdly, the most important factor is that numerous jobs were created by these developments.

The period 1870-1900 saw a number of developments taking place in South End, namely the first canteens were licensed in Walmer Road and South Union Street (1860), South End Grey School was opened (1875), the St Peter's Church was opened (1877), plans were

⁴⁰ This was a landmark period in the birth of modern South Africa. B. Nasson (2010:25) calls the discovery of diamonds the interior flywheel of the Southern African economy and these unleashed massive demands for capital, transport, industrial infrastructure and labour for diggings, plantations and commercial farms. However, it also created fierce conflict between Boer and Brit, which eventually led to the Anglo Boer War (1899-1902).

put forward for the Rudolph Street Mosque (1893) and the Seamen's Institute was opened in 1900 (Harradine, 1994).

The above period also marked an era when small business blossomed in South End. At this point South End had a few general dealers, tailors, boot makers, fishmongers, greengrocers, blacksmiths, two hotels, a wagon builder, a doctor, a chemist and a house agent (Williams, 2010). However, there were also a few setbacks that hampered progress in Port Elizabeth and South End in particular. For example, Muller (1996:17) argues that the importance of minerals (gold and diamonds) overshadowed agriculture, a source of income Port Elizabeth relied upon:

With the development of the diamond industry at Kimberley after 1867, and of the Witwatersrand gold mines after 1890, large new markets came into being. The relative importance of agriculture declined and minerals overtook wool as the most important exports. Railways revolutionised transport between the coast and the interior ... and new ports, East London, Durban and Lourenço Marques bay emerged to serve the interior. Port Elizabeth declined in relative importance as a port, especially after 1870 when Cape Town obtained a modern harbour.

The South African War (Anglo Boer War 1899-1902) affected the burgeoning mining industry as many factories closed, the infrastructure was crippled and unemployment rose (Joyce, 2007). In short, the discovery of diamonds affected Port Elizabeth in general favourably in the sense that more companies were started, jobs were created; a market was created for local products; and it led to the industrial revolution in South Africa (Grobler, 2012:176-177). The Anglo Boer War on the contrary affected Port Elizabeth more adversely than favourably. Aside from the general challenges such as unemployment, there was a scarcity of household products such as meat and dairy products. The biggest destruction of the war was the loss of lives. Nasson (2010:306) states that out of the almost 450 000 (British) troops who had been put in the field by the end of the hostilities, deaths amounted to 22 000 men. Over 13 000 of these – close to two-thirds were fatalities from disease and illness. There were numerous soldiers from Port Elizabeth who lost their lives in this war and women and children who died in concentration camps (A. Joubert, 1985:195,377). Olive Schreiner, the world-renowned poet and novelist writing from the Three Sisters in the Karoo, lamented the loss of lives of both British and Boer soldiers during the Anglo Boer War, in her poem entitled, 'The Cry of South Africa'.

Give back my dead!
 They by kop and fountain
 First saw the light upon my rocky breast!
 Give back my dead,
 The sons who play upon me
 When childhood's dews still rested on their heads.

Give back my dead
 Whom thou hast riven from me
 By arms of men loud called from earth's farthest bound
 To wet my bosom with my children's blood!
 Give back my dead,
 The dead who grew up on me!

(M. Chapman, 1981:87)

This poem is a cry of sadness and mourning. South Africa is personified as a mother who laments the death of her sons, who were killed during the South African War (Anglo-Boer War). The extended personification of South Africa implies a solid concrete relationship between a country and its people. It is a painful experience for a mother to lose a child in combat. The poet's use of extended metaphor suggests her dismay of war. Schreiner also uses repetition ("Give back my dead") to emphasise this tragedy.

The poem 'The Cry of South Africa', should be seen in the light of Schreiner's stance in life and also from her political point of view. Heather Parker-Lewis (2010:148) succinctly sums up the poet's political stance:

She was determined to influence people for the better. Olive in the future was to speak for the voiceless – the persecuted Boer, the Afrikaner women held in British concentration camps, the Black man denied a vote in his own land. She spoke out with energy against self-centred capitalism. Eventually she was to be recognised as an advocate for women's rights across the globe and, after witnessing firsthand the tragedy of the Anglo-Boer War, she became an ardent supporter of pacifism and conscientious objection.

The first two decades of the twentieth century were marked by a renewed interest in cultural and sporting activities. The newly-formed P.E. Philharmonic Society performed in the Town Hall (October 1905), the visiting Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) cricket team played in PE (1906), bioscopes became popular in Port Elizabeth (1910), the reformed P.E. Amateur Athletic Club had their opening meeting (1912) and the first eisteddfod was held in Port Elizabeth (1912). The interest in cultural and sporting activities should be seen in the light of South Africa entering into the global economic market and also that the

country was a British Colony. This introduction to the outside world had other spin-offs such as overseas teams visiting South Africa and the public was exposed to the newly born film industry. And being a colony of Britain, the school curriculum was geared towards teaching arts, culture and sport in schools. English language and culture were a powerful and hegemonic phenomena and many people embraced the associated lifestyle, the language clothing, learning, cultural activities and sport.

On the sporting front South End boasted a few cricket, rugby and soccer clubs in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The South End Museum has on display a host of photos of the early clubs of that era. Represented there are Morning Stars Cricket Club (1887), Shamrocks Football Club (1918), Primrose Football Club (1945), Alpha Life Saving Club (1958). The impulses for all these developments stemmed both from the modernising effect of South Africa being a British colony but also from the efforts of local communities to find ways of expressing their own sense of culture, values and traditions.

However, racism and segregation manifested itself in these developments in the 1920s and 1930s and this marred the progress of sport in South Africa.⁴¹ Although the exclusion of coloureds, Indians and blacks from representing South Africa on the international level, was not imposed by statute, it prevailed in our society. Milo Pillay (weightlifter and former South End resident) was an example of a competent sportsman who was excluded from representing South Africa in the 1930s. It should be noted that numerous South End sport administrators and sportsmen played leading roles in fighting the unfairness in sport. In an interview with Dennis Brutus (cited in Thomas, 2012:7) the latter refers to the unfairness in sport, the exclusion of Milo Pillay and the formation of the South African Sports Association (SASA) in 1958:

G.K. Rangasamy [former South Ender and chairperson of SASA] was the leader. He was quiet, dignified and kept us together. The principle for him was the best athletes should represent South Africa. He had seen Milo Pillay in the 1930s and Rod Eland in the 1940s being cheated out of representing their country, though they were the very best. In SASA he dedicated himself to ensuring that that did not happen again.

⁴¹ Cheryl Roberts (2011:11) claims that sport in South Africa was never officially segregated. She claims that it was in 1956 that the first state legislation appeared regarding sports legislation within the apartheid framework. From the 1950s South African sport became an international issue.

Photo 5: Milo Pilay, weightlifter and sport administrator (1930s)



Source: South End Museum

There were also other challenges that faced Port Elizabethans and South Enders, namely the bubonic plague which occurred in April 1901, the First World War, the Spanish Flu (1918-1919) and the Great Depression. With regards to the bubonic plague, Agherdien *et al.*(1997:2) argue that the removals that followed the outbreak of this disease were a measure to control the influx of Africans to the central area of Port Elizabeth:

The crunch came in 1901 when the bubonic plague broke out in the city. This gave the municipality the opportunity to obtain government finance to remove Africans from centrally-situated locations. Inhabitants from these locations now had two options: they could either move to a new government location at New Brighton which was situated eight kilometres north of the town or they could buy or rent property outside the boundary of the municipality at Korsten.

At this stage in the history of South Africa the Milner administration (1900-1905) encouraged self-governing municipalities (Spies, 1984:364). Thus the municipality of Port Elizabeth executed these removals and they were merely financially supported by the government. The Milner administration controlled the PE municipality at that time. Milner did little to improve the prospects of the Africans and believed that the white man must rule as it is the only way to raise the black man (Spies, 1984:366).

The First World War, on the other hand, resulted in mixed fortunes for the city. Many lives were lost during the war, but the war also boosted the economy of Port Elizabeth, at the time when the city became a market for hides:

The First World War provided a major stimulus as imports of boots and shoes virtually ceased. Such was the expansion of the local industry that Port Elizabeth became known as the 'Northampton of South Africa' after the British city renowned for its boots and shoes. In terms of employees and production, almost half of the country's shoe industry was located in Port Elizabeth. Its fifteen factories included such well-known names as Edworks, Mobbs, Sargents, Cuthberts and Bagshaw Gibaud.

(Muller, n.d.:17)

Employment in these factories provided an income to many residents of South End. My maternal aunt Rabia Jobson (as an example) worked at Edworks, which was a shoe factory, for more than thirty years. Port Elizabeth also pioneered South Africa's motor industry,⁴² with Ford's first plant, established in the mid-1920s (Joyce, 2007:55). General Motors followed suit and established a branch in North End, Port Elizabeth. The city's strategic location was the main reason for its selection as a distribution centre. The expansion of these companies immediately stimulated related industries, such as Firestone, the tyre manufacturer, and Shatterprufe, the supplier of safety glass for the motor industry.

During the 1920s coloured and Indian education was given a boost, when the first 'non-white' secondary school opened in Municipality Street, North End. Coloureds especially could now also improve their qualifications and enter into the above-mentioned industries. Church and mission schools were mainly responsible for seeing to the needs of coloured and black education, whereas non-denominational schools established by the government in 1865 provided education to the whites (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:264). In fact, the government used subtle discrimination to keep the coloureds and blacks at bay, by making the school fees unaffordable for these groups. The non-denominational schools thus became predominately white (as they were financially better off), while almost all coloured and black children went to mission schools, which were free or asked only low fees (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:264). The inequality and discrimination continued and a number of laws were designed to favour the whites in the twentieth century, including the Apprentice Act of 1922. This act made it difficult for the coloured youth to become an

⁴² Port Elizabeth became the preferred motor manufacturing centre mainly because of its location. Furthermore, it also possessed all the facilities, natural and artificial, essential to the manufacturer and distributor: easy accessibility, good markets, efficient transport, adequate suppliers of energy, water, labour and raw materials (Muller, n.d.:17).

apprentice, as a Standard Six pass was the minimum qualification for entry. As for the school that opened in North End, the government probably provided this as they could foresee a shortage of coloured skilled, semi-skilled labourers and teachers.

It was indeed these industries which had numerous spinoffs that attracted many people to Port Elizabeth in the first three decades of the twentieth century. These groups include the Chinese, Portuguese and Greeks. When the different groups moved into the Cape the population mutated and there was some degree of merging taking place. When the Chinese, Portuguese, Greeks and Jews moved into Port Elizabeth, the city not only became more diverse, but it also allowed the city to grow in terms of the diverse skills these people brought with them.

A continued shortage of labour in the Cape Colony necessitated a periodic demand for Chinese labourers and this was how a number of Chinese landed up in the Cape. Giliomee and Mbenga (2008:227) state that in 1903 there was a shortage of skilled workers in the gold mining industry due in part to disillusionment with British rule, but more importantly because of a reduction in wages per month. The government then held the view that the importation of Chinese labourers was likely to provide the solution. According to Yap and Man (1996:6), the first Chinese to arrive in the Cape were not the farmers or artisans Van Riebeeck sought, instead they were convicts banished from Batavia. Chinese later arrived at intervals in the Cape – for instance, in 1814 a number of craftsmen and farmers arrived, then later a number of Chinese indentured labourers arrived in 1834 from St Helena as there was always a demand for cheap labour.

It was only much later in January 1849 that the first Chinese arrived in Port Elizabeth on the Norfolk. These Chinese were mainly artisans (cooks, gardeners and carpenters) who were in the service of Mr J.O. Smith⁴³ (Yap & Man, 1996:14). In the course of 1881 and 1882 more Chinese labourers arrived in the Eastern Cape. Some of them settled in Port Elizabeth and others moved to Eastern Cape towns like Cradock and Colesberg, where they were employed on the railway lines.

⁴³ J.O. Smith was one of the directors of the Eastern Province Boating Company in Port Elizabeth. He was instrumental in bringing the first group of Chinese on the 'Norfolk' to Port Elizabeth (Harradine, 1994:31 & 35).

A number of reasons are given for Chinese leaving their country of birth which include the massive growth in population and the agricultural activity failing to feed all the people, a tax system which overburdened people and a rapidly deteriorating economic system enhanced by natural disasters and peasant uprisings (Yap & Man, 1996). Most South African-born Chinese are descendants of independent immigrants who arrived in the country from the 1870s onwards and originated from the Kwantung province of South China (Yap & Man, 1996). They were ethnically two different groups, namely the Cantonese and the Moiyeaneese. These two groups differed in their dialects, customs, dress and traditional dishes (Yap & Man, 1996).

The Chinese preferred the Cape Colony as there were no restrictions on Asiatic immigration and trading rights, as was the case with the Transvaal and the Free State. The discovery of diamonds also attracted not only Chinese but also other groups to the Cape Colony. This necessitated a railway link between the port cities of the Cape Colony with Kimberley. The influx of Chinese to South Africa continued and, by 1904, Port Elizabeth, for instance, had 499 Chinese, according to the census of the Cape Colony (Yap & Man, 1996:61). In the same year nearly 64 000 Chinese came to South Africa to work in the gold mines, after a shortage of unskilled workers was experienced (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:227).

The Chinese, who arrived in South Africa, were Buddhists, Roman Catholics or Protestants. Although they were allowed to practise their various religions, there were other restrictions. These restrictions included the introduction of discriminatory laws such as the pass law,⁴⁴ the creation of separate locations, the restriction of trading rights, job reservation and others. These discriminatory practices continued during the time when South Africa became a union and beyond that when the Nationalist government came into power in 1948. A network of laws which was introduced after 1948 further restricted their entry, their place of residence and choice of occupation.

There were also other problems for the early migrants, as explained by Gordon Loyson (2010):

Our parents came to South Africa [from China] they can't

⁴⁴ The Pass Law affected the Chinese in terms of trade and restricting them to a specific residential area.

... speak English, nothing. So what they do, they come from Mauritius. Now Mauritius they got all those small little shops ... and that's how they learned their trade ... The first one come [and learned and taught the others] and tell them they must keep this and keep that and keep the customer happy. And there was always the joke of this man ... when you come in there [the shop] he gives you a stick, 'show me what you want' ... they can't speak English, they can't read.

Loyson explains that his father and friends came to South Africa with the hope of finding diamonds:

My parents they're from China, but previously they settled in Mauritius. Before that they heard about South Africa, you can pick up diamonds. From Mauritius they landed up in Natal and from Natal they went to Kimberley [they realised] you can't just pick up diamonds [laughing] ... they didn't have education ... they couldn't find jobs, so that group that went there, they all come down from Kimberley. Some went to Durban, some to East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

Such encounters like unemployment, restrictions, discrimination, job reservations as experienced by the Loysons and other Chinese workers are also recorded in Darryl Accone's autobiographical fiction *All Under Heaven* (2004:8):

Walking along beside his elders, Ah Kwok recalled the stories he had heard about the labourers who had gone to work on those mines. They had been an early wave of Chinese migrants; indentured workers who tunnelled and shovelled underground by day, slept in overcrowded rooms by night, and off-duty were penned in compounds like beasts and denied even basic recreational facilities. At first they brooded and endured their lot. But when requests to improve their conditions were met by ears that would not hear, they rioted in protest, broke out of their cages and killed a number of guards.

The Portuguese and the Greeks, like the Chinese, came to the Cape to seek a better fortune. They were mainly sailors who come to settle in Port Elizabeth. Both these groups were business people. The Portuguese families who lived in South End had surnames like Souzea, Perreira, Alfonso, Alvarez, Salvador, Concalves and Pamensky (South End Directory, 1964/5). The owners of Nick's and Cropolis Cafes were Greeks (South End Directory 1964/5). The first Greek to come to Port Elizabeth was George Vranikas, who arrived in 1879 and married a local girl of German descent (Paizis, 2007:125). Vranikas

opened a coffee stall in the harbour and earned a good livelihood and with the result he owned many properties in South End. In the early 1880s a number of Greek seamen arrived in Port Elizabeth and those who followed much later in the 1900s were mainly businessmen. Most of them ran cafes.

Dimitri Paizis, a respondent, relates that his father joined the number of Greeks who came to South Africa to earn a better livelihood:

My father came to this country in 1922 after the Sackhoff Smirne in Turkey, he was on a Greek battleship at that time. When that was over in 1921, I think it was and Smirne was demolished, then he came out to join his brother who was in South Africa for some time in Johannesburg. Then he went back in 1935, got married to my mother in Greece. Then came back and then him and his two brothers opened up this place [Oxford Café] in Govan Mbeki [Main Street] and Queen Street in those days.

Many Europeans, like Mr Paizis (senior), were driven into journeys to far-flung countries after World War I. This can be ascribed to a decline in gross domestic product, the industrial sector slumped, unemployment rose, families were on the brink of starvation and prices of goods were pushed up by increasing inflation, in those countries. The result was that a significant number of Europeans had to look for employment outside their country of birth.

By 1936 there were approximately 17 Greek families living in Port Elizabeth. Church services were held on occasional basis and these were conducted by visiting priests (Paizis, 2007:127). In 1936 the community formally established itself as the Hellenic Community of Port Elizabeth and the Eastern Cape. The objectives of the community were to erect a Greek Orthodox Church, build a hall and school to promote the cultural and moral activities of the members and to see to the needs of its underprivileged members (Paizis, 2007:127).

The Greek community grew considerably over the years and by the end of the twentieth century comprises more than 250 family members or more than 800 people.⁴⁵ The most resourceful period of this community was when the church, school and presbytery were

⁴⁵ Some Greek family names include Anastas, Gianoutios, Zangas, Arvonitakis, Sirigos, Paizis, Raftopoulos and Massaris.

completed in 1958. The establishment of the community's church, school and presbytery complex provided the impetus to push the community to heights that could not have been imagined by its founders (Paizis, 2007:129). The Greek community was enriched when waves of immigrants from Cyprus, Egypt and Brazil immigrated to Port Elizabeth. The community was also enhanced when Father Marinakis and other leaders served the community spiritually and educationally (Paizis, 2007:128).

According to Christopher (1994:47) in the pre-apartheid era the majority of urban dwellers lived in segregated circumstances. He says further that these segregated suburbs were often separated by no more than a road resulting in greater contact. How did a cosmopolitan suburb like South End then come into existence despite the number of laws of racial restriction that were promulgated prior to the apartheid era?

Firstly, South End was an open area,⁴⁶ which did not have any racial restrictions and attracted a number of coloured and Asian residents, as this was the only option available to them. In the period from 1910 to 1950, the Municipality of Port Elizabeth, like other municipalities all over South Africa, had no overall segregation philosophy. The result is that mixed suburbs like South End continued to exist, although the proportion of the population that lived in such suburbs decreased with time (Agherdien, 1997:3).

Secondly, South End attracted a diverse group of people in the 1920s and 1930s during the rise of the motor industry and related industries mainly because it was strategically situated. It was near the harbour, airport, the central business area, factories, schools, churches, mosques, temples and other amenities. Thirdly, South End attracted Chinese, Indians, Greeks, Portuguese and Jews who were mainly entrepreneurs. The rapid development of South End during the period and being in close proximity to the harbour, favoured many of the inhabitants and these entrepreneurs.

At the end of the third decade of the new century, Port Elizabeth was well on its way of becoming the fourth largest city in South Africa. At this juncture many roads were tarred, cars replaced animal driven vehicles, government housing schemes were implemented, and

⁴⁶ South End was an open area since it was established in the 1860s as a residential suburb. It was therefore difficult for government of the time and subsequent governments to reverse this process as there was no law recorded that prevented mixed areas. It was probably also the reason that South End was targeted first during the implementation of the Group Areas Act.

electricity and water were supplied to households. The tremendous growth of the town, coupled with regular drought, placed a great strain on water resources. Water restrictions were then introduced in September 1921 (Harradine, 1994:169).

Then at the end of the 1930s, South Africa and the world were gripped in a depression. Joyce (2007:69) states that the depression, compounded by a series of droughts, had an adverse effect on the South African economy:

Mines and factories closed down, farmhands lay idle; wages (for those lucky enough to hold on to their jobs) plummeted; the soup kitchen queues grew long; hunger stalked the countryside.

The depression even affected the residents of South End as reported by Williams (2010:17):

My father was a farrier with the SA Railways and my mother had been employed by Teikamadus Organisation as a seamstress and milliner. This stood her in good stead in the depression years of the 1930s when she augmented my father's wages of thirty six shillings a week by making and selling ladies' hats. Our dining room table was her workplace and I took charge of the ostrich feathers!

Oudtshoorn was the main centre where ostriches were farmed and bred. Jews played an important role in the feather trade, both in the developing and trading of this industry. From 1896 it became a lucrative business and the price of ostrich feathers rose steadily (Feldman, 1989:119). The ostrich feather industry soon became the fourth most important export product and all feathers were sent to London. The first serious crisis in the feather industry occurred at the end of 1913. The causes of the crisis include a change in the fashion of ladies' hats due to the efforts of the 'Prevention of Cruelty to Animals' organisations which agitated against the wearing of ostrich feathers and the overproduction of ostrich feathers (Feldman, 1989:120-121). After this crisis, the ostrich feather industry never really recovered. Yet the slump of the feather industry did not affect much, as gathered from the evidence above. Firstly this was mainly due to South Africa recovering much sooner than its European counterparts, as it possessed a gold-backed surplus.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Gold-backed surplus refers to the reserve gold in the South African Reserve Bank. The gold surplus was used in the event the country experienced a financial crisis and as legal tender.

Secondly, the ostrich feather fashion hit South Africa much later. In general the depression changed everybody's lives.

Williams (2010:20) elaborates:

The depression years affected everyone, everywhere and also South End. During this period my dad worked only 3 mornings a week for 12 shillings a shift compared with the 3 pounds a week he normally earned. True in those days a candle was one penny and a loaf of bread 4 pence, but many did not have that money. One of the big lifesavers was the Mayor's Relief Scheme whereby men could be employed full time doing navy work for 5 shillings a day.

The depression taught many people to budget and live frugally; to buy only the essential food items and to be innovative and creative in order to augment their income. Also despite the food items being cheap, it was still not within reach of many families. A significant number of families did not have a stable income; then there were those who were more fortunate, who at least worked on a short-time basis, like the Williams family.

Whereas the previous decade was a period of both adversity and prosperity, the period that followed (1930-1940) was bleak for South Africans, especially for coloureds and blacks in terms of opportunities and political rights. Then there was also the Second World War that impacted negatively on people. During this period we saw on the national front an act that entrenched job reservation, the rise of workers, union, the revival of the ANC, the demise of the black vote and the swell of Afrikaner nationalism. The government of the day was also unaware that they were creating a problem, with the increasing implementation of discriminatory laws for black and coloureds. This created resurgence and an awareness in the fight for their political rights.

During and after the World War, there were worldwide debates about freedom, equality and democracy. At the forefront of these struggles for freedom for Africans and coloureds were the ANC, the All African Convention (ACC) formed in 1936 and the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) formed in 1943 (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:269). The subversive organisations mentioned above had similar aims and objectives and were united in their cause to break oppression. The government had other intentions and that was to divide and rule. It was evident that race formed the core of the discriminatory laws that

were implemented by the government. It was especially NEUM's main objective to fight racialism, as this organisation ascribed to a policy of non-racialism.

Viljoen (2013) is of the opinion that non-racialism challenged the existence of the category of 'race' and insisted on a common humanity of all people and on a definition of national identity that stressed common interests rather than differences among South Africans. NEUM also had a strong following in Port Elizabeth and South End in particular and members included Dennis Brutus, Frank Landman, Ofie Salie, Raymond Uren and others. The above members were at the forefront of the organisation and arranged numerous mass meetings to address issues, especially the Group Areas Act.

South Africa once again witnessed prosperity after the war. This prosperity had stimulated a demand for cheap labour and the Smuts' government felt a need arise to control the influx. These controls antagonised a black opposition that was growing ever stronger and bolder, and its new military frightened the white working class (Joyce, 2007).

However, when the Nationalist government came into power in May 1948, they introduced more stringent laws than the Smuts government did. The new government from the onset was committed to white supremacy and segregation:

The Nationalist Party took over the reigns of government with an unswerving commitment to white supremacy, and in particular, Afrikaner supremacy, and to the construction of an all-pervading, all powerful system of institutionalised apartheid.

(Joyce, 2007:90).

Giliomee and Mbenga (2008:314) state that Apartheid rested on several bases and the most important were the restrictions of all power to whites, racial classification and racial sex laws, group areas for each racial community and the elimination of integrated public facilities and sport and others. To this end the Nationalist Party introduced the Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act (No. 55 of 1949), the Immorality Amendment Act (No. 21 of 1950), the Population Registration Act (No. 30 of 1950) and the Group Areas Act (No. 41 of 1950).

The Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act forbade marriage between white and non-white and sex across the colour line. The Mixed Marriage Act and the Immorality Act created deep divisions in a number of communities across South Africa. Classifying a person, especially a coloured, was problematic at times, as there were many coloureds who had the physical appearance of whites. There were also numerous cases where coloureds who had the appearance of whites entered into a marriage with a white or had a relationship with a white person. Giliomee and Mbenga (2008:316) state that people were questioned about their descent, their fingernails were scrutinised and combs were pulled through their hair as a means of classifying them. Then there is an example of a case which is a clear indication of the absurdity of this legislation. It was the case of a former Cape Town magistrate who was ordered to undergo two years psychiatric treatment after he was found guilty in the Goodwood Regional Court of contravening the Immorality Act (MacLennan, 1990:21-22).

Christopher (1994:141) is of the opinion that the Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act (1949) and the Immorality Amendment Act (1950) were designed mainly to preserve the imagined racial purity of the white group. Christopher (1994:141) adds that segregation was even enforced within the confines of a single residential plot. For example black and coloured servants living on white owned properties were required to be provided with physically separate premises and entrances.

The Mixed Marriage Act and the Immorality Act were problematic in the sense that these laws could not be applied if a mechanism to determine which race a person belong to was not in place. The government thus introduced the Population Registration Act in 1950 which provided for the compulsory classification of the population into separate and discrete racially defined groups. Initially three categories of classification were identified, namely white, black and coloured. The coloured group included all people of colour – Cape Malay, Griqua, Chinese, Indians, Japanese and any other person of Asian origin.

These laws not only broke up communities, but also created disharmony among families and friends. For instance, our neighbour in South End, Mrs Johnson, a coloured, broke ties with her family after she married a white man. Then there was Sandra Laing whose parents were white, but because she had coloured features, she was ostracised by her parents and the white community. These are some of the many stories related by residents from South End and other areas.

The determinants for racial classification were based mainly on physical appearance and social acceptability (Christopher, 1994:103). The whole aim was to prevent those who were not white from gaining that position. Christopher says that families were consequently split as members were subjected to such distasteful tests as curliness of hair, skin colour and linguistic ability. The Population Registration Act also allowed for reclassification where it was considered that people had been wrongly labelled.

Arthur Nortje,⁴⁸ whose father was a white Jew and his mother a coloured woman, writes how the discriminatory laws of the Nationalist government not only affected his life, but also his psyche:

Suppose here a pattern. I travel
a land of bitter efficiency second-class,
ticket stamped with time and destination,
subject of course to certain conditions:
to be shown on demand, and not transferable.

(Planning a Modus Vivendi in February/D. Klopper,
2000:88)

Nortje explains that as a result of his classification as a coloured, he was given the status as a second class citizen. And this ‘ticket’ that was assigned to him, created bitterness in his heart, as it caused restrictions in his life. The poem effectively captures the events of that time including racial classification, restriction imposed on people of colour and denying them their basic human rights.

In Nortje’s poem entitled ‘Transition’, he alludes to the repressive laws of Apartheid that made him feel inferior and excluded in his country of birth:

Aqua-clear, the bracing sky,
and morning breathes cucumber cool,
invests the leaves with gentle airs.
My final spring rows beautiful.

Most lovely, not yet being lush,
athletic grace of limb and bud.
I stand self-empty, ascetic
in this my land of wealth and blood.

⁴⁸ Nortje’s mother was a single parent; therefore he took his mother’s surname.

For your success, black residue,
 I bear desire still, night thing!
 Remain in the summer long
 though I be gone from green-flamed spring.
 (Klopper, 2000:141)

Given the fact that the poem 'Transition' was written in August 1965 – Nortje left South Africa in October 1965 – one can conclude that the poet reflects on his circumstances, namely social and racial oppressions. This spurred him to escape into exile. The title of the poem alludes to the 'change' that is about to happen in his life. The "morning breathes" (winds) reference to the "winds of change" in his life namely his intention of leaving the country.

Prevalent in this poem is the ambivalence in stanzas 2 and 3 and here reference can be made to Nortje's uncertainty, whether he should exit the country. Nortje also experiences a deep sense of alienation, "I stand self-empty, ascetic in this my land of wealth and blood". Klopper (1993:27) is of the opinion these are recurrent themes in the poems of Nortje written before he went into exile:

On evidence of the poems written before he went into exile, Nortje never did experience a sense of community or physical wholeness. Instead he seemed permanently alienated. His characteristic themes, even in these early poems are of severance, absence and loss. It is significant that before he left the country, Nortje was already employing the image of exile to convey a general sense of alienation.

Aside from Nortje who wrote against the oppressive system there were others who were actively involved in challenging the Nationalist Government. These activists include Dennis Brutus, who was a teacher, Ofie Salie, Knight Baboo, Raymond Uren, Omar Cassim, Baby Pillai, B.B. Ramjee, Frank Landman and many others. These groups of men⁴⁹ shared the same platform, despite their cultural and religious differences. Their main aim was to create awareness among the residents of South End and to resist the oppressive laws.

It was especially the Group Areas Act that they resisted. Roy Du Pré (1994) calls it the law which caused the "most suffering, the most humiliating and the most deprivation". The

⁴⁹ However, there were a few women in the 'struggle' like Mrs Olive Landman, the wife of Frank Landman.

Group Areas Act of 1950 restricted ownership and the occupation of land to a specific statutory group (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:318). The aim of this Act was to break up racially-integrated areas. This Act impacted negatively on the people of South End, as it went against the very grain of the cosmopolitan diversity that existed. The Group Areas Act also initiated forced removals which had serious consequences for non-whites with regards to property and occupancy.

The government's main aim with the introduction of the Group Areas Act was to restrict various population groups to racially-defined areas. Christopher (1994:105) states that the conception of this law was to affect

the total urban spatial segregation of the various population groups defined under the Population Registration Act. Towns and cities were to be divided into group areas for the exclusive ownership and occupation of a designated group. People not of the prescribed designated group would be forced to leave and take up residence in the group area set aside for their own group.

The necessity for an Act of this nature, the ruling Nationalist Party rationalised, was that the various racial groups within the Union were in a widely different and sometimes conflicting stage of cultural and political development and that it was impossible to treat them all alike. It was in the interest of both Europeans and non-Europeans alike that Western civilization should be maintained in South Africa and that a policy of racial differentiation should be adopted as opposed to racial assimilation. Racial conflict and tension, the argument went, are brought about when members of different races lived together.

A "group area" according to the Group Areas Act No. 36 of 1966 meant any area proclaimed or deemed to have been proclaimed under section 23. A "disqualified person", according to this Act (in relation to immovable property, land or premises in any group area) meant a person who is not a member of the group specified in the relevant proclamation under Section 23. Further the Act also mentions the functions of the Group Areas Board, which includes advising the Minister of Interior on matters relating to issuing, amending, withdrawing any proclamation of this Act. This Board consisted of white officials, who could recommend the setting aside of particular areas for the sole ownership or occupation (or both) of particular race groups (Davenport & Saunders,

2000:378). They also stated that provisions was made for representations to be made by local authorities and other interested parties; but the object of the legislation was nothing less than a complete unscrambling of the residential pattern in South African towns.

Yap and Man (1996:326) state that the Group Areas Act of 1950 was the legislation which wrought the most upheaval, hardship and insecurity in the lives of people of colour. They say further that the law provided for the separation of races into areas where each group would live and work, removed as far as possible from contact with other races. Giliomee and Mbenga (2008:318) share the same opinion that the Group Areas Act of 1950 restricted ownership and the occupation of land to a specific statutory group.

Yap and Man (1996:326) say that residential segregation was not a new concept to South Africa:

and had been implanted from the 19th century with the demarcation of separate areas for blacks as well as restrictions on Asiatics and coloureds ... What differentiated the Group Areas Act was the scope of its application. Not only did it impose racial criteria for residence and trade in specific areas, but in the course of its numerous amendments it evolved to encompass admission to and use of places such as hotels, halls and sport facilities, and also applied to conditions of employment.

It is evident from the above that separate areas and segregation were not recent phenomena in the history of South Africa. The Group Areas Act also applied to residents of South End and with its implementation a substantial number of families were affected.

Prior to the implementation of the Group Areas Act, during the period 1955-1967, the residents of South End experienced a period of social maturity due to the sustained post World War growth of the economy. Despite restrictions they grabbed the opportunities, whatever came their way, whether it be in the form of education or jobs.

South End – a period of social maturity (1955-1967)

This period can be regarded as the strongest in terms of growth of South End, despite the limited opportunities which existed for people of colour. The growth should be seen in the light of South Africa entering a period of increased economic boom in the 1950s and 1960s (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:307). It led to an increase in job opportunities for

people. At this time people of colour became increasingly aware of the importance of education for their social development. On the social level sports and recreational activities developed. People became aware of fashion, enjoyed luxuries and showed interest in arts and culture. All this should be viewed in the light of a period of increasing segregation and apartheid oppression which included job restrictions, limited educational opportunities and restricted sport and recreational opportunities.

With the war and post-war boom, more jobs were created and women entered the workforce due to an increase demand for labour. The household income was thus more and families could afford certain luxuries they had not enjoyed previously. This meant that children went to school longer as they no longer had to augment the income of the breadwinner. Thomas and Thomas (2008:13) give us an idea of the benefits the people of North End, East London, derived from the economic boom that took place in the 50s and 60s:

At this time people of colour really started dressing up, going to school longer – even up to standard 6 [Grade 8]. Those who had disposable cash even entered and enjoyed the luxuries of music and sport. Even gangs and gangsters found a social niche.

Saliem Davids was one of those who grabbed the opportunity by doing his apprenticeship. He explains:

Ek het standard 6 gepass ... en toe het ek gaan werk in Kensington by Mobbs. Ek het vir 'n jaar gewerk by Mobbs skoene fabriek ... My verlanse was om 'n messelaar te word ... Lima (Galima) Potte, haar ma het gebly oorkant Pier Street Masjied [Moskee] en daar het 'n kêrel gebly met die naam van Solly Mohamed. Toe het Sies [Auntie] Lima gehoor dat sy 'baas' 'n apprentice soek. Ek kon so lekker onthou, ek sit nog die oggend in die barber, Saterdagoggend ... Armien kom daar ingehardloop, 'Mamma het 'n job vir jou gekry, jy moet afkom nou' ... Ek is daar uit die barber sonder om hare te sny, om te gaan uitvind. En toe kry ek by McCall Builders 'n apprenticeship ... en ons moes in die dag werk en saans by die Moslem Institute, Technical College geattend.

[I passed standard six ... and worked in Kensington at Mobbs. I. Worked for a year at Mobbs Shoe Factory ... My dream was to become a mason ... Lima (Galima) Potte, her mother lived opposite Pier Street Masjied (Mosque) and there lived a fellow,

whose name was Solly Mohamed. Then Sies (Aunty) Lima heard that his boss is looking for an apprentice. I can clearly recall, I sat in the barber that morning, Saturday morning ... Arminen came running in, 'mamma got you a job, you must come now ... I ran out of the barber without cutting my hair, to find out. And then I did my apprenticeship under McCall Builders ... And we had to work during the day and at night we attended technical classes at the Moslem Institute].

Previously opportunities were not created for people of colour to do apprenticeships. However, there were still limitations and limited scope. Also in the past skilled and semi-skilled jobs were reserved for whites. This changed slightly and people of colour who passed standard six could now enter into apprenticeships. These apprentices had to attend a technical college where they learnt the theory and at the end of this period they wrote an examination in Olifantsfontein, outside Johannesburg. The quality of life for these workers improved and they could now enjoy certain luxuries such as buying a motor car, a better house, and could provide their children with a better education.

Soopiah Muthayan, also made use of the opportunity to improve his qualification, albeit under difficult circumstances. He related:

I then attended Paterson High and matriculated in 1958. I then worked for a year and then went to Fort Hare to do a BSc, after which I tried getting a job, but it was impossible to get a job in the lab. After working for about five years, pharmacy was then opened by the government, what that meant is prior to that people of colour could not study pharmacy in South Africa, but in 1965 this changed.

The fact that more pupils entered schools meant that more teachers were needed. Thomas and Thomas (2008:244) reiterate that there was a shortage of teachers in the 1950s and 60s:

the apartheid government also needed hundreds of teachers to serve the thousands of children entering coloured and Indian Schools, especially as of the middle 1960s, and encouraged matriculated students with bursaries to enter the teaching profession – in order to eventually work the system through the schools.

The plan of the government was to provide coloured and Indian schools where there was a shortage with racially 'appropriate' teachers. Matriculated students were encouraged to follow teaching as a career path and offering bursaries were used as an incentive.

However, the government's plans did not materialise, as most coloured and Indian teachers belonged to teachers' unions and anti-apartheid organisations which ideologically resisted the policies of racial segregation. At South End High there were Mr Frank Landman, the vice-principal, who was a member of the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (Anti-CAD) and Mr Raymond Uren a senior English and Latin teacher who was a member of the South African Sports Association. Thomas and Thomas (2008:244) state that through apartheid education, the state had unwittingly created space and the opportunity for coloureds and Indians (and of course Africans to a greater extent) to organise politically.

Thomas and Thomas (2008:244) argue that this plan of the government backfired:

The plan to use these schools to work the system backfired. Most coloured and Indian teachers became members of the anti-apartheid South African Sports Association and later of the South African Council on Sport.

They assailed the state and quickened the liberation struggle by educating a generation of youngsters into non-collaboration and employing the boycott as a tactical weapon against apartheid.

However, the main purpose of schools like South End High was to educate and uplift the children of South End and the surrounding areas. South End High had many success stories in the 50s and 60s. Lizette Nagan, a former teacher of South End High, recalls that at one stage in the 1960s, ten pupils out of the same class studied to become medical doctors.

A better education created more opportunities for a better job and a stable income. This in turn created other spin-offs, for instance people started dressing up, lifestyles changed, buying power increased, and businesses also benefitted. Tailors, for example, were in demand. Men ordered tailored suits and dressed up for every occasion and even competed to see who looked the best.

South Enders benefited from the prosperity of the 50s and 60s and could afford to send their children to university. One of the residents, Abdul Majiet Adams (affectionately known as 'Boeta Bappie'), managed to send four of his children to university, all of whom qualified as medical doctors. Boeta Bappie was a mason by profession and through hard work and seizing the opportunity he could afford to educate his children. He was also one

who valued education and realised that education was a tool that could be used to improve his lifestyle.

But then came the announcement which South Enders were expecting and dreaded, when P.W. Botha (the Minister of Interior Affairs) declared South End a group area. All their dreams, their hard work and their achievements came to a halt. This marked the beginning of the demise of South End.

The demise of South End

Before the implementation of the Group Areas Act, South End, like District Six, was one of the most racially integrated areas in South Africa. People from different racial and ethnic background co-existed peacefully. Then drastic measures were taken by the Nationalist government to homogenise residential areas by racially rezoning them. A proclamation dated 1963 declared South End an area set aside for “whites only”.

It was in the autumn of 1965 that the first people in South End received their expropriation notices. With it came the threat that the Board had the discretion, and that after not less than three months, they would take possession of properties if their hapless owners and occupants did not respond (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:90).

People were moved against their will and received little compensation for their houses and properties. However, the situation was more complex than this negative picture depicts. Some people, especially the ones who lived in lean-to structures and others in tin and wood hovels were happy to escape to the townships. Mrs Hilda Schovel (for instance), who was married and stayed with her parents was granted the opportunity to own property in Salt Lake, as a result of the removals (Interview 27/02/2013 South End Museum – Oral History Project). The home and property owners were the ones really who moved against their will. Many tenants though also felt devastated by the prospect of being forced out of a neighbourhood that was close knitted. Eviction orders were issued to the people and ordered them to move from their homes by a certain date. These eviction notices created a period of extreme anxiety and agony. Shun Pillay (cited in Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:101), a former resident of South End, describes his emotions at having to leave the area at the time of the relocation:

You thought of all the moments of joy and suffering, the friends you made before the guillotine dropped, whether it was going to be worse or good were to be seen. The pain the people had to go through, with all the sacrifices people had to make under difficult circumstances.

It was a feeling of tremendous amount of pain and no amount of words can describe it.

This is one of the many stories of the anguish and suffering caused by the Group Areas Act. My paternal grandparents suffered a double blow when the Group Areas Act was enforced. They were first evicted from their house in Forest Hill and then Stuart Township and eventually they were moved to Gelvandale in the Northern suburbs of Port Elizabeth. Gordon Loyson, one of my respondents, suffered a similar fate when he was evicted from South End, then from the area called Perl Road and finally moved to Kabega Park.

Muthayan related that he was a student at Fort Hare in the 1960s when his family was forcibly removed and it happened just before the university holidays commenced. He said that he was devastated when he could not return to the family house in South End. Yet another respondent Eileen Wilson recalls that her father, a white resident of South End, refused to move and rather emigrated to New Zealand.

The Group Areas Act was more than just moving people from one suburb to another. Du Pré (1994:87) says that it scattered friends, families and congregations:

it uprooted settled communities and scattered the people over the length and breadth of the country. Church congregations and sport clubs were dispersed. Friends and families were broken up and dispatched hither and yonder. People were dumped on patches of bare veld with no water or sanitation. Others were dumped in horrible little matchbox houses ... there they had to start from scratch, building a community with other people whom they did not know and with whom they had nothing in common.

Similar consequences for communities were documented in Rive's article "District Six: Fact and Fiction." (Jeppie & Soudien, 1990:112). He explains that when the law was enforced the District Six community had no choice but to move. The inhabitants were banished to the barren and desolate wastelands of the Cape Flats and ironically the names given to those new areas reminded them of the plundered past. There were also similar accounts given by the characters in Rive's *'Buckingham Palace'*, *District Six* – families

who were uprooted and dumped in small houses. For example, Charity and her family were moved from District Six to the desolate area of Hanover Park, a name cruelly reminiscent of a royal house in Britain. They were moved to a nondescript council flat in Azalea Court.

Why did South End pose a threat to the apartheid authorities? Firstly, South End should be seen as a suburb that was strategically situated. It was regarded as a prime area and was situated near the harbour, the station, the airport, in close proximity to the central business area and lastly, it was a developed area in terms of infrastructure. It was for these reasons that the Port Elizabeth Municipality, property developers and some whites who had no scruples closely conspired with the National Party government of the day to evict ‘non-whites’ from South End and other areas close to the city and declare them residential areas for whites only. Their argument was that South End was a slum, an eyesore in a crime ridden area and to them the Group Areas Act was a welcome mechanism to move ‘non-whites’. This argument came especially from some of the residents of Walmer, Humewood and Summerstrand as these areas were right next door to South End. “Resident” (letter to the Editor, 10 March 1955) and “Realist” (letter to the Editor, 8 May 1965) are examples residents of Walmer who opposed South End should remain a mixed area. Many of these residents had to travel through South End and the latter posed a threat as it was an island with a diverse community, surrounded by white areas. The diversity that prevailed in South End was thus going against the grain of the Group Areas Act and Apartheid, as these mechanisms had as its main aim to separate people.

However, there were also those who opposed the above idea. For instance P.M. Pather, in a letter to the Editor of the *Evening Post* (14 March 1955), expressed his opinion:

“Resident”, in his letter in the post of March 10 vehemently slated the non-Europeans, particularly because of conditions that prevail in the lower part of Walmer Road, where drunkards and loafers are often seen.

These conditions you will find in any community. I can refer “Resident” to Sidwell, where you will encounter conditions much worse than in South End among the European community.

And so you cannot slate a whole community for the behaviour of some irresponsible men.

The system for eradicating slums and other evils is definitely wrong. Unless the authorities do something urgently, I am afraid things won't improve.

But it can be done. The Police can play a big part in this matter.

South End is the only area where non-Europeans lived peacefully among all the other sections for well over seventy years without friction.

To shift them to another area after all these years will be most unjust and unfair.

The perspective of "Resident" on South End – that it was a slum and crime-ridden area – was regarded by many residents of that area as a skewed view. "Resident" was probably an inhabitant of one of the surrounding areas and looked at it from outside. And to "Resident" the Group Areas Act was a welcome means of removing non-whites from South End. P.M. Pather's view is that "Resident" is generalising about the state of the area and that non-whites are 'uncivilised'. Pather's solution to the problem is that the government must assist in upgrading the area and that the government wanted to evict non-white residents of South End essentially because it was a mixed area.

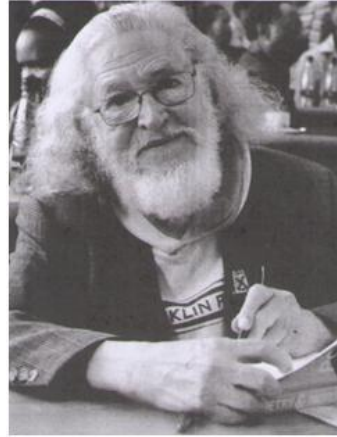
Agherdien, *et al.* (1977:Introduction) claim that the first Port Elizabeth Municipality and property developers were behind the forced removals. This is evident in a report dated as far back as 7 June, 1954 by the Reference and Planning Committee for Port Elizabeth and Environs. The Committee consisted of representatives of Government Departments, the Provincial Administration and the Port Elizabeth city council. Mr L. Dubb, Mr. B.E. Diggery and Mr. A.R. Simpson represented the P.E. City Council. After the Reference and Planning Committee has inspected Port Elizabeth and surroundings, they gave reasons for recommending the area (South End as an undated group area for members of the white group):

- (i) It is completely surrounded by a vast white complex, thus forming an undesirable pocket in a white area.
- (ii) It lies astride the main road to Walmer, Humewood and Summerstrand, and it is considered undesirable for traffic from these white areas to pass through a thickly populated non-European area. The Committee has, however, been informed that the Port Elizabeth city council, in its own planning scheme, envisages a boulevard along the coast by-passing this area

(City Engineers Files – Correspondence Files 2/4 Volume 1-4, 1954).

Thus, the fate of the people of colour was already decided even though they were only removed from the mid-1960s.

Photo 6: Dennis Brutus, Academic and political activist



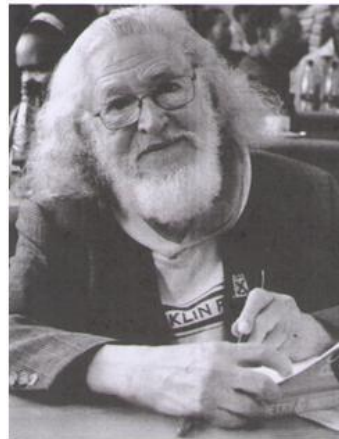
Source: Thomas (2008)

The renowned Port Elizabeth poet, Dennis Brutus, in a poem entitled ‘For them Burness Street is a Familiar Entity’, depicts the impact forced removals had on the residents of South End. Brutus calls South End a ‘homely paradise’:

For them, all South End is the familiar map
of their existence, all their growth and lives
though for me it is mere knowledge, mere report:
yet even I can sorrow, knowing their loss
their uprooting from their homely paradise
and all their yearnings and their sense of loss.

Despite the fact that Brutus hails from 20 Shell Street, North End, Port Elizabeth, he could identify with the plight of the residents of South End their ‘sorrow’, their ‘loss’ and their ‘uprooting’. This is so because he comes from a similar background and community.

Photo 7: Dennis Brutus, Academic and political activist



Source: Thomas (2008)

In subsequent chapters, I will look specifically at the dimensions of community and place, and I will look at this community that existed from the late 1940s to the 1970s. This biography focuses on this historical period and what I have done till now is to provide a background to the emergence of this localised community. In summary, this chapter dealt essentially with history, a history of a community, located in a particular place. Thereafter, a brief history of the settlement of Port Elizabeth and the emergence of South End as a community were provided. This was followed by the key legislation that affected the community. Lastly, in subsequent chapters I will look specifically at community and place.

CHAPTER 3

A SENSE OF PLACE: GEOGRAPHY

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the period of incredibility, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair ...

Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities* (1986)

So many nationalities – English, Afrikaans, coloured, Chinese, Portuguese, Indians, Greeks, Malays. There was love amongst people in those days and a sense of timeless well-being.

They walked, had time to stand at their gates and chat and in the top half of South End everyone knew each other. There was no security bars, little concern about locking doors ...

How can I mention all the people, living and dead, who made up our happy community – a community where I never heard of quarrels or bad feelings between people?

Linda van Wyk, *Evening Post* (1987)

Approaching Walmer Boulevard coming from Settlers Way into South End, where I was born and where my mother spent her childhood years, flashes of sites where I used to play, the school I attended and places I frequented go through my mind. Today, these sites no longer exist; the geography of South End has transformed completely. The Seamen's Institute (now the South End Museum), the two mosques, the Valley Road Temple and the Baptist Church are of the few remnants of 'old' South End.

More than forty years ago South End was a bustling area populated with a hodgepodge of different races and cultures and where English, Afrikaans, coloureds and Greeks, Portuguese, Malays and Xhosas and coexisted peacefully. The editor of the *Eastern Province Herald* (1997) recalls:

It was a place where all races lived in harmony, a place where cultures met and enriched one another, a place where people ran small businesses, plied their trades, worshipped in mosque, church or temple and respected one another for what they were.

Ramjee (1962) an activist and resident of South End relates:

Neighbours of all races got along well with each other, borrowing sugar and floor polishers, exchanging food dishes and participating in each other's joy and sorrow. If Mrs Jones is ill, Mrs Fatima will do the cooking and if Mrs Pillay is ill Mrs Abrahams will look after the children.

Agherdien, *et al.* (1997: Introduction) give a similar account of South End:

it was a bustling suburb, brimming with activity and populated by a very cosmopolitan community. ... In essence this suburb was a forerunner of South Africa's 'Rainbow Nation' of the 1990s. A variety of communities and nationalities such as Indians, Malays, English, Afrikaners, Chinese, Greeks, Portuguese, St Helenians, Khoikhoi, Xhosas and Fingos lived in harmony with one another, respecting one other's culture, language and way of life.

Then came the Group Areas Act and subsequent forced removals. South End is a very different place today. Schools, houses and businesses all fell in the path of the bulldozers and now it is almost unrecognizable (Editor, *The Eastern Province Herald*, 1997). All that is left now are the two mosques, the Seaman's Institute / South End Museum, the Valley Road Temple and the Baptist Church on the way to the airport. Today it is quiet and populated by characterless walls and security gates (Paton, 1987).

Agherdien, *et al.* (1997: Preface) write in a similar vein:

Today, South End as they knew it, is no more. Its heart was ripped out. The suburb was bulldozed and rebuilt; streets were liberated and others were changed and renamed. Today, it is just another upper-class white suburb of Port Elizabeth – rows upon rows of faceless townhouses; yuppie pads and uninspiring simplexes: in the words of a well-known song, 'little boxes on the hillside'.

It is hard for us today to imagine that South End was such a multi-ethnic place and a hive of activity. This is verified by Cato Bailey, one of the respondents in this research. He relates that, in the 1950s in their street, lived the League of Nations; for instance, Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, Indians and their next-door neighbour was a Malay (Mr A. Johardien, the imam of Grace Street Mosque, Central Port Elizabeth). Bailey says that:

when we grew up our neighbours were Muslims, there were

the Contells, who was Spaniard, he had quite a few sons. Then there were the Nolllys' he was an Italian, who married a coloured woman, and then there was Mr Leeman, he is a Portuguese, he also married a coloured woman and next door was the Johaardiens [Malay]. They called him Maan [Abduragmaan] he was the teacher at the madressa in Burness Street, Mr Effendi's school.

I try to imagine the scenes that must have taken place in the 1950s, especially in Walmer Road, which was always bustling with activity. There was firstly the sounds: shouting, laughing, the sound of motor cars, buses and in the early days the clang of trams; the church bells on a Sunday; the calls of the muezzin, children running or playing games; the deafening sound of the Boeings landing at the airport; the chime of the campanile, the hooters of the ships, the call of the fishermen at their prospective customers, chatting of people.

And then there were the sights I personally witnessed when I was ten-years old and the accounts given by the respondents: men in smart suits, fah-fee runners, women in saris, a haji in a red fez, women carrying shopping-bags, ducktails wearing stovepipe jeans and donning their Elvis Presley hairstyle, young men at street corners whistling at pretty girls; an assembly of drunken fishermen outside the saloons, hawkers selling fruit or fish.

The geography of South End was simple: The streets ran horizontally and vertically. Walmer Road, the hub and main artery of South End ran vertically across the area. Parallel to Walmer Road flows the Baakens River from the North, into the bay. The river also forms the border of South End to the east and Quoit Street forms the border to the west. First Avenue is the border of the north section. At this stage it is important to mention that beside the geography that forms a focal point of this section, aspects of South End life such as education, places of worship, sport and recreation will also be explored in the light of textual and oral accounts. It is noteworthy to comment that this chapter will deal mainly with reconstructing the geography of South End, which will help to recreate a sense of place and a sense of self.

This geography formed an integral part of the life of South Enders. They could recite the names of the streets by heart and even recall the names of the families who lived in the various streets. Garrison Keillor (2014:67) reminds us that the physical area where we grew up is superimposed by the geography of a man's life, the grief and pleasures

associated with various streets. This applies to South End: Mrs Mariam Cerfontein who lost her son in Walmer Road through a car accident; the boy who drowned in the quarry in Mitchell's Street; the street cricket Mr Saliem Davids played in Rudolph Street and the quadrille Cato Bailey and his friends performed in the Lindstrom Hall.

My South End is on the west side: houses with different architectural styles, pine trees, loquat and guava trees, wide streets, the Cockney Muslim Centre and pupils with butcher-stripped blazers, marked Burness Street, the street where I grew up. It was in Burness Street where Arthur Nortje enjoyed the hospitality of the Brittons and Brutus also made reference to this street in one of his poems⁵⁰ entitled: *For them Burness Street is a familiar entity* (cited on p.91).

Brutus is saying in the poem that South End was a familiar place to South Enders, it was inextricably part of their development and their lives, but for him who only received the accounts of the place, as he only frequented South End, he was unable to live their experiences. Yet he could empathise in their "sorrow" their "loss" and their "uprooting", because he made lifelong friends with people in South End and had a strong connection with the area. In an interview (with regard to South End) cited in (C. Thomas, 2012:20) Brutus commented that: "I used to go there a lot. In fact, ek het daar geboer!" [I really frequented that place]. Julia Parley echoes what Brutus is saying with reference to the remarks and the grief the people experienced. She puts it succinctly:

Agh man, I can only say that I am sad that I left South End,
because sometimes when life gets me down, then I think
about South End. Then I feel again happy inside. *Jy kan nie
die tyd terugvat nie* [You can't turn back the time], things
will never be the same.

Nortje shared the same sentiments as Brutus, as he also had a close connection to South End. He expresses this affinity in his journal and vividly recalls his association with his friends, colleagues and the place (South End). Nortje nostalgically reminisced, when he finally departed from South End and South Africa on an exit visa:

I'm booked on the 12:05 flight to Johannesburg, Boeing 727.
Carrie arrives and two women, tearless as I wanted it, see me

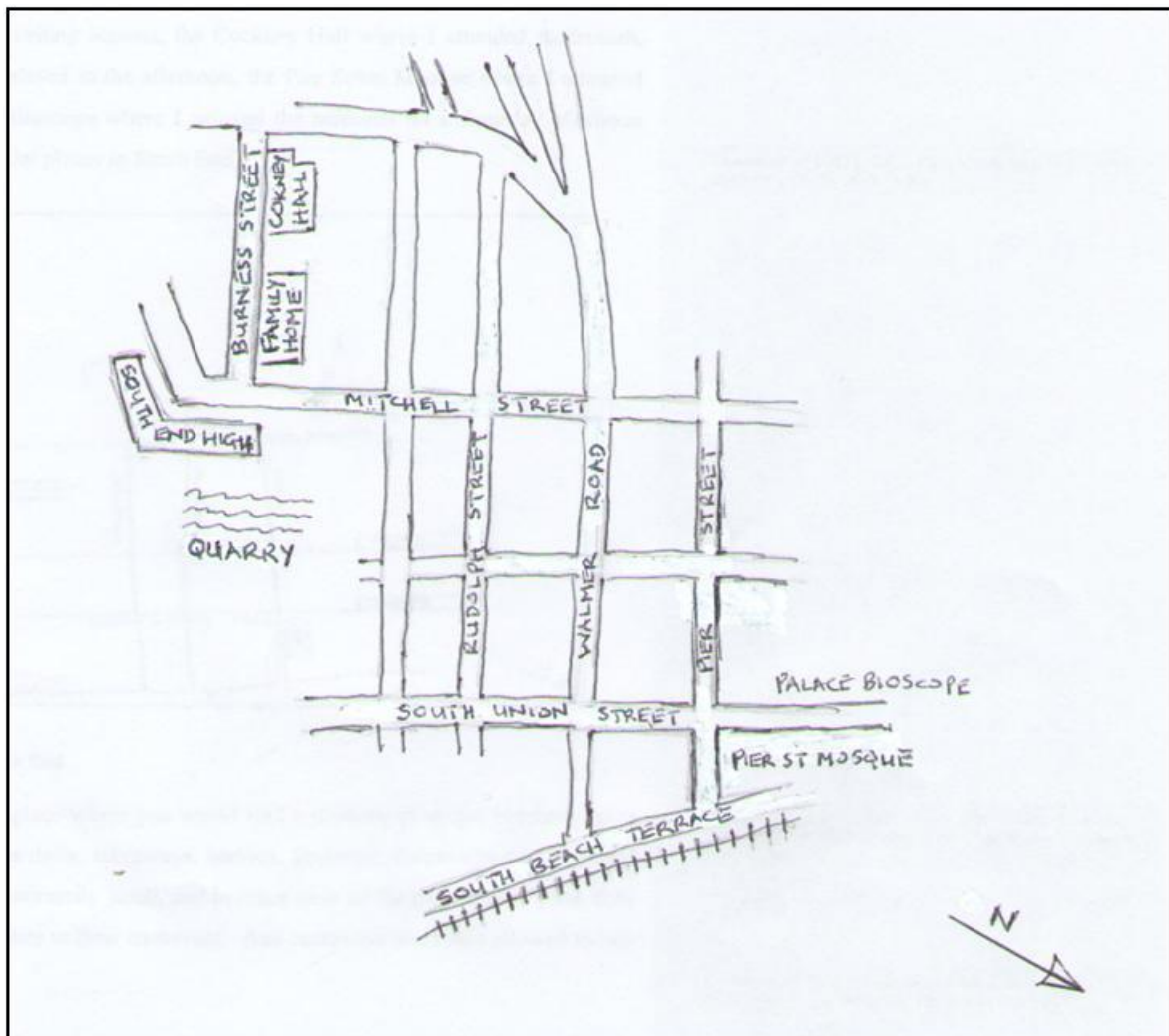
⁵⁰ The poem is entitled 'For them Burness Street is a Familiar Entity' taken from *Stubborn Hope* (1978:23-24).

swing onto the tarmac through the gates and up the gangway with sun for the last time strongly off zenith and the country's weather moving into a booming summer, wind fresh and furling the flags on the balcony; mac slung over my shoulder and *S. Afrikaanse Lugdiens* bag dark blue in my tan clutches, I can smell how I smell. So long to the land, and not without nostalgia, for though all thy piteous mercy fade away, not for thy failing shall my love so fall (Guido Cavalcanti)

Arthur Nortje – Journal Oxford, 1965:36

My South End also includes Dower Primary in Gardner Street where I received my first arithmetic, reading and writing lessons, the Cockney Hall where I attended madressah, Mitchell Street where I played in the afternoon, the Pier Street Mosque where I attended services and the Palace Bioscope where I enjoyed the matinees on a Saturday afternoon (see map of my own special places in South End).

Map 3: Special places in South End



Street names⁵¹ are evocative simply because aside from giving us a sense of place and direction, they are filled with history and memory. It is as a result of this that the South End and District Six Museums foreground streets in their exhibitions. Ironically the street names in South End, have strong colonial links as they carry the names of councillors, city engineers and educators. Despite this, people still had a strong connection to the locality and streets. Monty Don (n.d.:21) reminds us that “places have to have names ... they have to have histories”. Don (n.d.:21) states further that “our sense of place defines the landscape of who we are”.

Walmer Road⁵² is also the place where you would find a plethora of shops: butchers, spice shops, hardware, tailors, a dairy, takeaways, barbers, fruiterers, fishmongers and general dealers. Those shops are normally small, and because most of the people were poor, they would sell in small quantities to their customers. Customers were also allowed to buy on the book.⁵³

Despite the size of these shops they were always fully stocked. For instance, At Sinky Ah Why (see caption Photo 7) Grocery Store, there were always busy displays in the windows. To attract the attention and due to limited space especially with regard to fruiterers, they would neatly pack their fruit outside the shop, in the form of apples, bananas, oranges and naartjies. One shop that comes to mind is that of Mrs Kader, affectionately known to South Enders as ‘Aunty’. Mrs Kader was a plump, friendly, kind-hearted person of Indian origin and she would give her customers more goods than what they paid for. This kind-heartedness that she displayed attracted many customers to her shop.

⁵¹ Rudolph Street (see map) is known today as Walmer Boulevard

⁵² Walmer Road is the equivalent of Hanover Street in District Six.

⁵³ It is when a customer buys on credit, the transaction is then recorded in a black book (hard cover).

Photo 8: Sinky Ah Why with his family in their grocery store



Source: South End Museum (n.d.)

Walmer Road was not only a place of transit; it was also the artery to the centre of Port Elizabeth and on to the other parts of Port Elizabeth. There was always movement in Walmer Road. It is also the section where people rose earlier. Shops were concentrated in this section: the harbour, a hive of activity, was at the bottom of Walmer Road; buses and cars added to the noise level; the factories were in close proximity and the call of the muezzin was a common sound.

South End was marked by a diversity of architectural motifs. One could see spires, minarets, arches, pitched roofs, flat roofs, wood and iron structures, double storeys and semi-detached buildings. The variety of architectural styles in South End and borrowing from other cultures – from the Malay and the colonial British diverse communities remind one of the architecture and diversity of London. In *London: The Biography* (2001:520) Peter Ackroyd makes reference to various eclectic architectural styles that comprised the cityscape:

London was too large to be dominated by any one style or standard. Of all cities it became the most parodic and most eclectic, borrowing architectural motifs from a score of civilisations in order to emphasise its own position as the grandest and most formidable of them all. Indian, Persian, Gothic, Greek and Roman motifs vied for position along the same thoroughfare.

Such eclecticism was also evident in South End with its borrowed and unique architectural styles and designs. It was undoubtedly a hybrid space. The styles of most buildings in South Africa (Port Elizabeth and South End in particular) were imported by settlers who

built in the styles of their mother country. These designs were modified to suit the climate as well as the materials available and thus styles of building characteristic of an area emerged (Theron, 1983:4). These styles were imported by the settlers from Holland and England. The Georgian Style, the Victorian Style and the Edwardian Style were popular styles that were used in Port Elizabeth and South End in particular.

Characteristics of the Georgian style are the chimneyed gable end, slate roof and symmetrical façade. Typical of the Victorian style is the veranda and bay windows. The Edwardian style on the other hand are characterised by its highly decorative façade and windows that are grouped in pairs (Theron, 1983:4).

Photo 9: A house in South Beach Terrace (on the left) with a Georgian design. Notice the chimneyed gabled end.



Source: M. Harradine (2004)

Photo 10: Seymour Street, South End. Typical of the Victorian Style is the corrugated iron veranda.



Source; M. Harradine (2004)

But South End is nothing without its people, says one of the respondents.⁵⁴ People and place become inextricably entwined. It was the place where there were the odd squabbles and fights at times, but it was also the place where people genuinely cared for one another. It was these people who gave meaning to the place. Today it is a far cry from what it was. It is a clean, sterile, ordered, featureless environment now. In comparison to what it was, there is little evidence of people. They come in their cars and drive behind the walls and then they disappear. So it probably looks, from the outside, clean, ordered and well-maintained, but there is also the sense that you do not know who these people are, they live hidden lives.

I am suggesting that the environment of South End has changed, the geography has changed and the communal life in that space has changed. In view of the above, the discussion will now revolve around space, the relationship between space and identity, and space and community.

⁵⁴ Soopiah Muthayan claimed that South End was not a place only, it is more about the people, the harmony, different religious groups and the togetherness of the different people and the total respect one had for each other.

Theories of geography, identity and community

The *Compact Oxford English Dictionary* (2006:992) defines space as a continuous area or expanse that is free or unoccupied or the dimensions of height, depth and width within which all things exist and move. R. West-Pavlov (2009:15) states that space has long been regarded in two ways: on the one hand at a microscopic level, as the gaps between things which, as it were, keep them apart; on the other hand, at a macrocosmic level, as the larger container into which all things are inserted. J.M. Rubenstein's (2011:42) description of space is almost similar to that of West-Pavlov. He describes it as the physical gap of interval between two objects.

The core idea for the above definitions is that space is a continuous area, that is inhabited or uninhabited and in which events and things take place or happen. We also notice that space is the gap between two things. At this point it is appropriate to consider a definition of place. I would like to indicate that I will at times use the terms space and place interchangeably. Rubenstein (2011:41) defines place as a specific point on earth distinguished by a particular character. Y. Tuan (1977:3) says that 'space' and 'place' are familiar words denoting common experiences. He states that we live in space, that place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other. Tuan says that these are the unexceptional ways of describing or speaking about these terms. Monty Don, however, says that for any space to have meaning it must have a sense of identity that makes it unique and recognisable. Barbara Bender's theory that people are inextricably part of a place supports Don's claim about the specificity of place. She comments that landscapes (places) are created by people – through their experience and engagement with the world around them (Bender, 1993:1).

Bender (1993:3) says further that landscape, or place, is never inert; people engage with it – rework it, appropriate it and contest it. She also says that landscape is part of the way in which identities are created and disputed whether as individuals, groups or nation state. Bender states that landscape should be seen in the context of history, politics, social relations and cultural perceptions. Michael Foucault (1986:23), like Bender, argues that we do not live in an empty space:

We do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals and things. We do not live inside a void that could be coloured with diverse shades of light, we live

inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolute not superimposable on one another.

Foucault and Bender contend that place, like South End, is marked by specificity and history. Many residents of South End felt a deep sense of belonging to this specific place. This comes partly from the fact that some of the households had lived there for generations and had supported one another in their struggle for material survival. South End is more than a geographical or residential space; it has come to embody a localised and collective memory of home, family, neighbourliness and above all community.

Don argues that this kind of space could be a street, a dip in the road or a single tree or it could literally be anywhere. The point that Don makes is that this space must be somewhere specific or known place (Don, nd: 21). Don (p.21), goes on to say that places (or spaces for that matter) have to have names, they have to have histories and they need inside information. By inside information Don means that each place or space is unique, in the sense that it has a language that describes it and that it has tunes that are familiar, special and unusual.

One can thus say that place and identity go hand in hand; they are interrelated, as it is the identity that gives meaning to a place and place to identity in turn. Part of a place's identity is the people, the buildings, the unique geographical features, and the sounds, the lifestyle of the people, culture and the types of cuisine. South End, the area, was one of those places that had unique features and this is captured in a letter written in 1997 by Mrs Maureen van Staden, to the editor of the *Weekend Post*:

I always accompanied my mother on Friday afternoons, on her trip down Walmer Road buying provisions for the weekend.

One can almost smell the aroma of Gee Dee's famous "cartons" of curry and rice and hear the sound of a small barefoot boy zigzagging past with his metal bicycle wheel, guiding it with a long wire ...

At noon the Bilal⁵⁵ called the Muslims to the mosque while the good Catholics queue behind Mrs Pillay's counter for their

⁵⁵ Bilal is another name for a muezzin, a man who calls Muslims to a prayer from the minaret of a mosque.

Friday fish. Geelbek and stock⁵⁶ were the best ...

We then crossed the road and on the corner of Walmer Road
and Coode Street was the old Indian lady who sold flowers
for the cemetery and rosy red toffee apples for a penny ...
(*Weekend Post*, 27/12/1997)

The above extract gives us an insight to the lived texture, the sight and sounds of South End in its prelapsarian “adult” years. It also gives us an idea of the people’s habits, their lifestyle and their religious observance. Walmer Road, as Mrs Van Staden suggests, was the hub, the Broadway of trade and commerce in South End; there were a variety of shops and businesses, from restaurants, grocery stores, outfitters, hardware stores, fisheries, barbers and others, mainly owned by Portuguese, Greeks, Indians and Chinese. The buildings were very ordinary, semi-detached, double storey and single storey and others (see Photo 10 of Walmer Road) with a very elaborate façade in the style of Victorian architecture built in the late 1800s and early 1900s. So there was that mixture of decorative and mundane structures in Walmer Road. The owners would live upstairs and downstairs they would conduct their business. Then there were other typical sights in the mid-1960s Walmer Road: for instance, the fruit and vegetable displayed on the pavement; the housewives bargain hunting; the fishermen displaying their fish at the bottom of the street and the odd fistfights that occasionally took place near the bars, for instance the Collins Hotel and the Prince of Wales Hotel.

⁵⁶ Geelbek also known as Cape Salmon, is found in the Western, Eastern Cape and Natal waters. Stockfish, or Hake, is found in the Eastern and Western Cape waters.

Photo 11: Walmer Road viewed from South Union Street (mid-1960s)

Source: Archives – South End Museum.

In order for people to develop to their optimum level, they need physical and psychological space. Tuan's (1977:4) statement consolidates the above-mentioned claim. He mentions that recent ethological studies show that humans also have a sense of territory and of place. Spaces are marked off and defended against intruders. Furthermore, Tuan claims, places are centres of value where biological needs, such as those of food, water, rest and procreation are satisfied. Physical space in this context is considered as land, in terms of property and territory. While psychological space is regarded as intangible space, which includes personal space and forms social interaction within a place. Furthermore, as Julia Parley claims, there was a spirit of harmony and togetherness; tolerance and respect, there was love and compassion and spontaneous interaction among the people of the old South End:

you don't realise what community you are ... because you don't see colour ... there was perfect harmony and respect ... *Die kinders het geweet dit is 'n grootmens. 'n Kind was 'n kind.* [The children knew it was an adult. A child was a child.]

We lived nicely together. There were arguments, it was normal, it is not normal if you don't argue, but no fights or not speaking to your neighbours for a whole month or so. We weren't like that. *Julle stry nou* [You argue now] then you sort it out now, *dan is alles oor* [then everything is over].

Parley claims that people looked passed the colour of a person's skin, that they co-existed peacefully and that respect prevailed in South End. She also recalls that there were hardly fights and arguments. Also if arguments occurred, they would be solved in an amicable manner.

A point to be considered at this stage is why do people move into a specific space or place? Every place has a history and this plays an important role why people choose a specific place. South End, for example, has a rich history in the sense that it is one of the oldest suburbs in Port Elizabeth, it was one of the first suburbs with a multi-cultural community and where there was a marked spirit of harmony, togetherness, tolerance and respect. Further people chose an area simply because they identify with a specific cultural group, religious group, income group or they identify with a certain lifestyle. However, it is a fact that a person is born into a community, but at one point there are choices one has to make. After the implementation of the Group Areas Act, choices became constricted.

Other forms of attraction to a specific place can include factors such as harmony, norms and values, spiritual aspects, better housing, better jobs, transport, schools, recreation facilities, sports, economic reasons, geographical layout and strategic position. On the other hand people will not consider an area if there is high noise level, crime and violence, alcohol and drug abuse, pollution, good sanitation and municipal services. From the above we notice that people choose a specific place for various reasons. The section that follows will focus on place and community and their interrelationship.

Place and Community: Identity of South End

A community is a group of people with same interest and goals who live in the same physical environment. A person could be a member of different communities, for example, a member of a cultural group, school community, church, friend circle or a resident of a suburb. Interaction between the family and the community takes place when the family maintains the standards set by the community. In return the community rewards the family or individual by giving them status, prestige and identity. Nasson (1990:46) emphasises the importance of formation of identity through interaction. He says individuals are formed not just by place, which is where they lived, but by a wider social context of relationships: relations of friendship, kinship, employment, debt, power, enmity and passion.

A community must have an identity and it is the identity that gives value to that community. Richard Rive (1990:112) makes a similar claim and here he refers to District Six: "District Six had a mind and soul of its own". It had a homogeneity that created a sense of belonging. It became more than a geographically defined area. It developed a separate and unique attitude. It cultivated a sharp, urban inclusivity, the type which Cockneys have in the East End of London and Black Americans in Harlem." Identity can include a host of things for example culture, lifestyle, beliefs, language usage, language register, uniformity in clothing and cuisine. Furthermore, a community must operate in a certain space, which is determined by that community. We all belong or are somehow or the other connected to a community which operates in a structured space. This space has certain boundaries and within those perimeters the individuals are allowed to operate. The individual is moulded by his/her community and is expected to conform to the ways laid down by that community.

On the other hand if an individual moves from one community to another, the individual has to adapt to that way of living; despite the fact that the individual has his/her own norms and values. Community life thrives on the psychological, spiritual and social space that an individual is allowed to operate in. This brings about stability, security and acceptance. Life in South End according to Imam Jalal and Cato Bailey (in the 50s and 60s) was stable because families were stable; the divorce rate was low; there was love and neighbourliness; there was respect for person and property; morals and values formed the basis of the community and people lived their religion outside their places of worship.

South End in general in the 1940s and 1950s was a safe place. Saliem Davids recalls that you could walk in Walmer Road late at night and nobody would bother you. He adds that today you can't walk alone anywhere. Maureen van Staden relates that the area was safe and there was no need to secure the house with burglar bars. Imam Jalal Ismail recounted that when they would go out at night time, they would leave their doors unlocked and windows open:

and it was safe you know, where I stayed in Walmer Road. I can remember it was my granny's house; the front was a tailor's shop. Before that time I believe it was part of my granny's house. It was converted and made it into a small tailor's shop. We had to go through a lane to get to the front door and they had a key. But many a night they didn't even lock that is how it was.

Theft and burglary seldom occurred because of the they had respect for other people's property,. Most of the interviewees were emphatic about the safety that prevailed in South End. Even young girls could walk late at night and nobody would interfere with them. It must be said that there were gangs in South End, but they were unlike the gangs you would find in townships in the country today, or in Mario Puzo's book *The Godfather*. Most of the interviewees agreed that they were reserved, dressified and would even help the elderly with their parcels. Although there was fights and occasional stabbing incidences, South End was, all interviewees claim, a safe place in general.

Acceptance, on the other hand was also common in South End as claimed by most of the respondents. The word acceptance in this context means that people acknowledged one another and did not discriminate on the basis of their religions and ethnical differences. This was noticeable at weddings, funerals, baptisms, pilgrims departing and arriving from Mecca, which were attended by very many members of the South End community, irrespective of race and religion. In the case of weddings, the bride and bridegroom to be would not only invite the family or close friends, but their neighbours across the religious and ethnic spectrum. This came in the form of a personal invitation. This latter aspect of communal life is foregrounded by Mr. Saliem Davids and here he specifically refers to the Malay tradition with regard to weddings:

Die bruid en haar twee strooimeisies het omgekom huis tot huis om (mense te invite) en bekend te maak sy gaan trou.

[The bride and her two bridesmaids visited each household, to invite and announced her wedding].

Mrs Eileen Wilson relates that during the apartheid years her father (of white origin) did not agree with the National Party's policy and decided to emigrate to New Zealand. She says that life over there was not the same as in old South End. And here she refers especially to the camaraderie that prevailed in South End. "As children, we would go uninvited to the weddings, especially the Malay weddings. We sat at the back of the hall and would be welcomed with open arms and also partake in the meals. I especially admired the wedding dresses of the Malays", Mrs Wilson said. It is noteworthy to mention

that the bride of a Malay wedding would wear a medora⁵⁷ (see photo 11) as part of her identity and it was also customary to invite the family and the immediate neighbours, Muslim and non-Muslim. This open invitation is sorely lacking in our communities of today.

Photo 12: Mrs Amina Tifloen (a resident of South End) on her wedding day in the 1950s. It is customary for the bride to wear a medora. The bridegroom is wearing a fez, usually black or red.



Funerals were also attended by all, irrespective of race. The grief of one person was the grief of everyone. According to Mr Davids the neighbours would provide the bereaved family with food for that specific day and would even give financial and moral assistance. Pilgrims leaving for the holy city of Mecca would announce their departure and invite family, friends and their neighbours over for a cup of tea. The neighbours in turn would give financial assistance and moral support. The South End community spirit of caring and sharing was even extended to sailors visiting the shores of Port Elizabeth. They would be accommodated at the Seaman's Institute, which is currently the South End Museum.⁵⁸ The Seaman's Institute was also a form of accommodation for sailors who missed their

⁵⁷ A medora is a headdress worn by a Muslim (Malay) bride to cover her hair which is a religious custom and it is a special designed scarf with sequins. The art of designing a medora is a skill that is slowly dying in Port Elizabeth's Malay community.

⁵⁸ The South End Museum is situated on the corner of Humewood Road and Walmer Boulevard (formerly known as Rudolph Street). The museum was an initiative by former residents of South End. A trust was formed and the museum opened its doors in 2001 and it stores and exhibits interesting and important objects (see photo above).

ship or who fell ill. Mr Davids stated that the people of South End also extended their hospitality to foreign sailors and would even bury those who died.

The Seamen's Institute also has its seamier side. It was the place where prostitutes would dine, wine, and ply their trade. They would keep the sailors company, chatting and dancing with them. According to Sidney Prince, (the tour guide at the South End Museum) these women and young girls (some residing at the Frikkadel Mansions) would dress themselves up, in most cases enticingly, swirl the red lipstick around their lips and would spray themselves with a cheap spray.

Photo 13: An early photo of the Seamen's Institute.



Source: M. Harradine (1995)

Sarah Beaton, a dockworker from District Six, during the apartheid years, claims that for her sex was not the main object, but rather it was the money she was after:

... I wasn't interested in sex, I wanted money. I would wait until the guy was asleep and then I'd go through his clothes or I'd give him a big hug and all the time I'd be nicking his wallet out of his pocket.

(Lin Sampson, 10 August 2008)

It is probably not easy to say what the real motives were of Sarah Beaton, but what was true is that this form of illicit business existed in all dockside areas especially, like District Six and

South End. One respondent, Maureen van Staden, stated that she was unaware this form of business was operating in South End.

South End was a vibrant area, where a spirit of harmony and togetherness was tangible and where people were allowed to move across spaces. The account of Linda van Wyk (1987) substantiates this:

Then onto our Webber Street house ... and around the corner
the Viviers boys with their songs and guitars ...

So many nationalities – English, Afrikaans, coloured,
Chinese, Portuguese, Indians, Greeks, Malays. There was
love amongst people in those days and a sense of timeless
well-being.

They walked, had time to stand at their gates and chat and in
the top half of South End everyone knew each other. There
was no security bars, little concern about locking doors ...

How can I mention all the people, living and dead, who made
up our happy community – a community where I never heard
of quarrels or bad feelings between people?

Linda van Wyk (1987)

It is often through music and dance that people express themselves creatively and the means through which they empower themselves and give vent to their feelings. In a keynote address Edward Said stated that performance, gives people a non-coercive and voluntary model for submitting themselves to the ensemble (2001). The word ensemble in this instance refers either to working together in a team, group, organisation or community and suggests the willingness of individuals to partake. In essence Van Wyk's account above exemplifies the peaceful co-existence that prevailed in South End. To link this with Said's statement it basically entails that if people work and live happily together, it will help in creating unity and harmony.

The cosmopolitan nature of South End and the tolerance and respect that was prevalent in the community were observations made by many of the respondents. In addition to this there was love amongst people and what Linda Van Wyk refers to as "a sense of timeless well-being", meaning that people's happiness and comfort were unaffected by time or changes. With reference to Van Wyk's recounting and idealising of the past, it is noteworthy to point out that her memories clearly contain traces of nostalgia. There is the

danger of falling into a kind of sentimental nostalgia when memorialising, idealising the past. These include presenting the past in a subjective way and hankering after a golden age instead of facing the reality of life. However one can also argue that strategic and useful kinds of nostalgia can help us foreground certain human qualities and values we now sorely lack. At this stage I would like to develop the above points and start from the premise that memory and nostalgia are linked. Memory in essence is a vehicle which assists or enables us in having thoughts about the past. What is memory? In ordinary terms it refers to a recollection of the past which includes people and things. *The Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (2005:886) describes memory as the ability to remember information, experiences and people. Recollections can sometimes be desirable or undesirable. Daniel Mendelsohn (2010) in his article entitled ‘But enough about me’ touches mainly on the fraught nature of memory. Mendelsohn cites Ben Yagoda and he states that if people were asked to repeat stories, they tend to omit or smooth over the anomalous bits; people also tend to exaggerate and people manage to turn memories into good stories even if the stories aren’t quite true. In my research, I also discovered that some of the respondents tend to omit unsavoury bits and also exaggerate to a certain degree.

Nostalgia on the other hand comes from two Greek roots, *nostos* meaning “return home” and *Algia* “longing” (Boym, 2001:7). Nostalgia, according to Svetlana Boym (2001:7) in her essay entitled “Nostalgia and Discontents” is a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Boym also states that it is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one’s own fantasy. The writer says further that nostalgia is “not merely an individual sickness, but a symptom of our age, an historical emotion” and hence makes three crucial points:

- First, nostalgia is not “anti-modern”; it is not necessarily opposed to modernity, but coeval with it;
- Second, nostalgia appears to be a longing for a place, but it is actually a yearning for a different time – the time of our childhood, the slower rhythms of our dreams;
- Third, nostalgia, in my view, is not always retrospective; it can be prospective as well. The fantasies of the past, have a different impact on the realities of the future (Boym, 2001:7).

Van Wyk shares the same opinion as Boym when stating that nostalgia is a longing for a “different time”. Van Wyk says further that the people of South End felt comfortable with one another; therefore they conversed freely and interacted spontaneously because everyone knew each other. South End was a place where people felt safe and secure because people looked after each other’s interest and they had respect for each other’s property. This was all possible mainly due to the fact that people practised compassion, kindness, altruism and respect which forms the cornerstone on which a community is built.

Lastly, Van Wyk states that people make up a community and that respect plays an important role in finding and understanding one another. Respect is an essential precondition for communication, group work and for a community to live together harmoniously. This respect should start in the family. It is imperative for parents to instil core values such as respect, honesty, integrity, tolerance and others. Mutual respect should be taught in a person’s formative years, as a child is more receptive to learning at that stage in his/her life. Parents ought to take the lead in talking the values and also set the tone by setting a example.

However, there were instances of intolerance, squabbles, fist fights, crime and discrimination. Saliem Davids recalls:

Daar was crime, daar was moord gewees, daar was inbraak gewees, maar nie op die skaal van vandag nie. [There was crime, there were murders, there were house breaks, but not on the scale as it is today].

Crain Soudien (2000:28-29) concurs with Davids that crime was less prevalent in areas like District Six (and in South End) in comparison with townships to which residents were relocated:

The new townships to which the apartheid government sent people were anything but safe. Aside from being remote from people’s place of work and recreation, townships such as Mitchell’s Plain (which was established over a period of several years in the mid 1970s) initially had no facilities such as hospitals, and were literally human dumping grounds. Having been removed, people lost contact with their former neighbours, and had to cultivate friendships with strange people and build new social, recreational and religious structures.

Housing estates such as Manenburg, Hanover Park, Lavender Hill, Valhalla Park, Ocean View and Bonteheuwel were characterised by unemployment, overcrowding and crime.

In the townships the familiar gangs of the city were transformed into malevolent marauders who preyed on the people's social vulnerability. The townships bred a mendacity of spirit amongst a number of young men who found themselves drafted into one of the many brotherhoods of crime which seemed to spring up at every opportunity. Young men, often unable to find work, and aware of the nagging poverty which surrounded them, were attracted by the stability, security and prestige offered by the gang.

Joseph Parley, the brother of Julia relates that discrimination existed to a certain degree: he said that Dower Primary (a school mainly for coloureds and Indians) at first refused the Parley children admission to the school. Gordon Loyson had a similar experience:

... I actually wanted to go to a white school, not because the standard of education was higher, so I wasn't allowed to go because I was Chinese. The only ones they allowed at a white school were Catholics ... I obviously was Anglican, they didn't allow me.

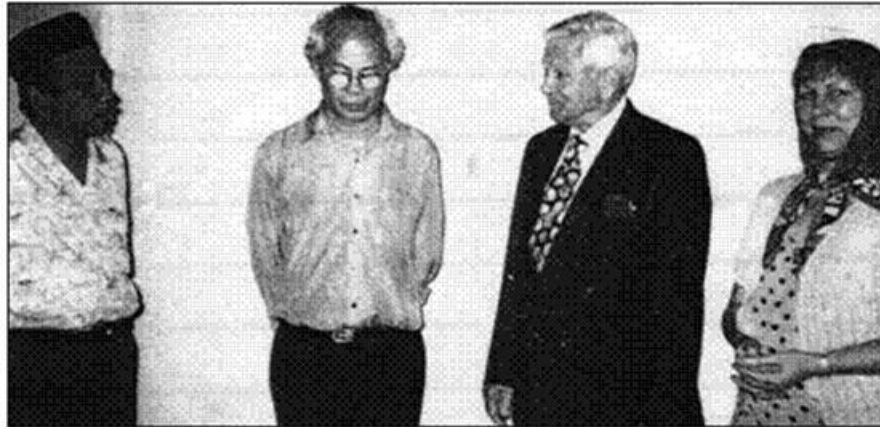
Racial discrimination clearly existed in South Africa in the 1950s and 1960s, it was at times committed openly, at times subtly and it was also muted. Racial discrimination occurred in the country because it was enforced by law and it was also allowed by certain sections of society.

In South End one finds that social organisation was an interrelated process entangling family, neighbours, religion, education, the commercial and also sports and recreation. Worship in the churches in the mosques and in the temples brought people together. Gatherings such as plays, concerts, bazaars, cake sales and bingo used as forms of fundraising also brought people together. At these gatherings people would discuss and share their own problems, latest events happening in South End, national and international news and even economics and politics. This was all made possible by the fact that people had spiritual space. The availability of spiritual space in turn led to religious tolerance. For a community to develop to its fullest potential in terms of social organization and tolerance, it needs physical and psychological space.

When it comes to physical and psychological space, South End was a very small and confined physical area, but people allowed the aforementioned space to its fellow residents. South End was a built up area, which means that there was no space for further development. Newlywed couples either had to move in with their family or they had to move to other areas. Imam Jalal Ismail explains that when he got married in the 1950s, he had no other alternative but to move to Schauderville, which was a newly developed area. His family was unable to accommodate him and his wife. This was also the destiny of many other couples.

It must be borne in mind that many of the houses were quite big with three to four bedrooms. Then there were also the smaller houses and the backyard quarters. Families were big and many instances two families would share one house, like our neighbours, the Ismail and Brooks families. The one family consisted of eleven members and the other of seven members. They also shared a kitchen. An entire family would sometimes share a room. There were also the Frikkadel Mansions, a square double-storey building with a prominent staircase which led to the second floor. It contained many rooms which accommodated a host of families. These cramped and impoverished conditions could sometimes impact on the harmony that generally prevailed in South End. It could sometimes result in conflict and arguments, especially when the personal space of a person might have been encroached through overcrowding.

Poverty knitted people together. Borrowing a cup of sugar or a few slices of bread was common among the people. And sharing was common as well. During the month of Ramadan, Muslims would send a barakat (a plate of food or cake) not only to the Muslim neighbours, but also to their non-Muslim neighbours and friends. An open-door policy was a common practice in South End. People would invite and accommodate strangers but also comrades in “the struggle”. Fuad Cassim recalls that his father Omar Cassim and friend Ofie Salie would accommodate comrades on the run, including Nelson Mandela. Their home in Walmer Road was the gathering place of many a political meeting and was several times raided by the security police.

Photo 14: Omar Cassim (in formal suit), his wife and two friends from Malaysia

Source: Moegamat Agherdien, (n.d.)

This camaraderie and neighbourliness are unfortunately absent in Parkside (Port Elizabeth) where I now live. Parkside is a middle class suburb built in the 1970s, and I moved there in 1993. Unlike the houses in South End, in Parkside the houses are more elaborate. Neighbours just greet and go about their own business; everybody seems to be busy. Funerals in my area are private and weddings are strictly by invitation. Soopiah Muthayan, who lived in Malabar (also a middle-class area), experienced the same aloofness and hostility in his neighbourhood. He said that his neighbours were aloof, unfriendly and they hardly greet

Social space for children was limited in South End. Therefore children played mainly in the streets. There they played soccer and cricket as these were the favourite sport in the area. This was the playground where great players like George (Yusuf) Potgieter, Faried Abrahams and Phillip Snyman and many others developed their skills. Potgieter and Abrahams were all-rounder's and Sidney Prince, explained excitedly and with a twinkle in his eye. Prince himself was a good soccer player and he brushed shoulders with Potgieter and Abrahams. Prince added that they were in the class of Basil D'Oliviera, the South African-born English test cricketer. D'Oliviera will be best remembered as the man who was denied the chance to play for his country when then Prime Minister B.J. Vorster announced the cancellation of the UK tour to South Africa because of apartheid.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Basil D'Oliviera was one the most talented cricket players ever produced by Cape Town. Unable to play against whites or any test team in South Africa, he left the country and was selected for England at the age of 34. He had a successful international career before being selected for the English national team to tour South Africa in 1968-1969. Alleging that the selection was politically inspired, Prime Minister John Vorster declared that the team was

The public space often extended into the private domain. Sidney Prince remembers that they played in the street with children (see photo below) of different religions and cultural background and afterwards would go into everybody's home, including the home of the Sonderups, their white neighbours. Ismail Davids (a volunteer at South End Museum) has a different view. He says that his white neighbours were aloof and although they played with the white children, they never visited their home. Memories of respondents at times provide contradictory accounts of human relations in South End. John Tosh (2000:1) concurs that people's memories can provide us with contradictory accounts:

We know from personal experience that memory is neither fixed nor infallible: we forget, we overlay early memories with later experience, we shift the emphasis, we entertain false memories, and soon in important matters we are likely to seek confirmation of our memories from an outside source.

Photo 15: Children playing in the street was a common sight in South End



Source: Ron Belling (cited in Y. Agherdien, *Double Vision*, 2015)

The only other spaces that children could occupy to play were the Quoit Green and the Quarry. The Quoit Green was situated at the top part of South End. It was a large open field bordered by Forest Hill Road, Sprigg Street and Armstrong Street. The Quoit Green

unwelcome in South Africa. This step accelerated the international sports boycott of South Africa (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008:351).

was not only a playground for children, but also a venue used by the Group Areas Action Committee to hold protest meetings against the draconian laws of the Nationalist Government. Some of the community leaders who addressed the people at these rallies were Frank Landman,⁶⁰ Ofie Salie,⁶¹ Dennis Brutus,⁶² Omar Cassim⁶³ and others.

Ambrose George⁶⁴ recalls that at these meetings held in the Movement Hall emotions ran high, mainly because the speakers would remind the audience of the atrocities of the apartheid era and the consequences of the Group Areas Act. There was also the fear at these meetings that the Security Police were either in the audience or would pitch at any moment. So there was always that mixed emotions of anger and fear prevalent at these meetings. George adds that these secret meetings were in most cases held under the banner of a sport body or a religious group or groups. This was only a ploy, in order not to attract attention, as was the case of the gathering in the photo below (1963).

⁶⁰ Frank Landman was born in Dowerville, Port Elizabeth. He was an educator (vice-principal of South End High), activist, member of the Teachers' League of South Africa, and the chairman of the Anti-CAD. Landman's political activities resulted in him being banned by the Nationalist Government. He left the country on an exit permit in the mid-1960s.

⁶¹ Ofie Salie was born in Port Elizabeth, was a sportsman (Bayonians Football Club), a sport administrator, principal of Dower Primary and a political activist (member of Anti-CAD).

⁶² Dennis Brutus grew up in Port Elizabeth, was a sport administrator, teacher at St Thomas (South End), a member of Anti-CAD, poet, activist and academic.

⁶³ Omar Cassim was born in South End. Cassim was an interior decorator, assistant imam of Rudolph Street Mosque, sportsman and political activist. Like Landman, he was a member of the Anti-CAD and also had to leave the country on an exit permit.

⁶⁴ Ambrose George was an educator who was born in South End in Coode Street. He first taught at South End High in 1965 and subsequently became principal of Gelvandale High School and Inspector of Schools (Education Department Officer) respectively. George was also a political activist, hence his presence at political meetings, like the one described above (See photo of A. George with A. Nortje on p.124).

Photo 16: Religious and community leaders addressing the people on the Quoit Green during one of the many Anti-Group Areas Act Protest Meetings.



Source: Mr Lai Pan (1963)

The quarry on the other hand was situated more to the bottom of South End and is where the fire station is today. It was the playground of many boys and some of them climbed the rock face, which was regarded as a big challenge. This reminds one of the main character Johnny Day in the short story by Alan Paton, entitled 'The Quarry' who made a similar attempt. Johnny, a young boy, decides to climb up a dangerous cliff face of a quarry and does so for a variety of reasons: he is becoming a teenager and wants to do adventurous things; prove that he is brave and independent. The boys from South End probably scaled the dangerous cliff face of the quarry for the sheer adventure of the challenge. It was incidentally from this quarry (in the early days) that large quantities of stone were obtained for use as ballast in unloaded ships, in order to give them weight when on the high sea (Redgrave, 1947:72).

Photo 17: The Victoria Park Ground 1968 (bordering Victoria Park Drive and Forest Hill Road) was a hive of activity when derbies between Swallows and Blackpool were played. Today it is desolate and overgrown with weeds.



Source: Abdul Latief Abrahams (cited in Y. Agherdien, 2015)

One of the most important social spaces was the Victoria Park Grounds. Sport played an integral part in the lives of many old South Enders and was a powerful instrument which brought people together. Families and friends would gather at the field on Saturdays when soccer teams played, to watch their local heroes. Home teams such as Swallows and Blackpool attracted huge crowds. These were the matches that brought people together.

This social interaction and love for sport was concurred by Mr Saliem Davids:

Wat uitgestaan het vir my en van alle communities van South End, whether jy nou wit, coloured, Malay or Indian was, hulle was almal lief vir sport. Buiten hulle gelowe, wat hulle na hul kerke, masiete [moskees] en temples toe gegaan het ... kan ek hulle sien as 'n sports loving community. Ons het gehad sokkervelde. Elke community het sy eie board [sportliggaam] gehad. Dan was daar South End se famous teams Blackpool en Swallows [sokkerklubs]. Hulle was baie competitive gewees. Dan was die Indians op 'n Sondagmiddag [hulle het sokker op 'n Sondag gespeel], Shamrocks, Primroses, Ramblers [sokkerklubs] op Newtown se velde. Dan het jy gehad die Schaefer [velde] waar ons rugby gespeel het vir P.E. Lads.

Jy dink op 'n Sondag van die Indian sokker, jy dink op 'n Saterdag van die coloured sokker en jy dink op die Schaefer die rugby en dan in die somertyd krieket op die Schaefer.

[What stood out for me, and for all other communities of South End, whether you were white, coloured or Indian, all of them liked sport. Besides their religions, that they have to go to their churches, mosques and temples ... I see them as a sports loving community. We had soccer fields. Each community had its own board [sporting body]. Then there were South End's famous teams, Blackpool and Swallows [soccer clubs]. They were very competitive. Then there were the Indians on a Sunday afternoon [they played soccer on Sunday], Shamrocks, Primroses, Ramblers [soccer clubs] on the Newtown fields. Then you had the Schaefer [fields] where we played rugby for P.E. Lads.

You think on a Sunday of the Indian Soccer, you think on a Saturday of the coloured soccer and you think of the Schaefer, the rugby and then in the summer time, cricket on the Schaefer]

This period, the middle 1950s until the late 1960s, can be referred to as the era of social maturity in sport in South End. At this time prominent sportsmen like Ernie de Kock (rugby and cricket), Terrence Hendricks (soccer and cricket) and Faried Abrahams (soccer and cricket) made their mark. Then there were also equally excellent sports administrators which included Dennis Brutus, Moegamat Agherdien and Cato Bailey who laid a solid foundation for establishing and sustaining sports organisations in the community. Bailey and others succeeded in creating unity in the different sporting codes as a period of progression in sport.

Photo 18: Rugby on the Schaefer Grounds



Source: S. Abrahams

The picture above represents tolerance, acceptance and unity despite the fact that it shows players from two religious groups. The two clubs presented in the photo are Wallabies,⁶⁵ wearing plain jerseys and Lads in the striped jerseys. Wallabies Rugby Club was from Schauderville and predominantly coloureds (Christians) and had one or two Malays (Muslims) representing the club. Lads, conversely, was mainly a Malay club, but there were a few coloureds playing for the team. Disunity was never a challenge in the rugby fraternity among people of colour, but was always an issue in the hockey, soccer and cricket codes that was up until the period mentioned above. Certain members of mainly St Helenian heritage were responsible for creating their own clubs such as Blackpool and barred blacks, Asians and Muslims from playing (C. Bailey, 2006).

In sport there was a level of tolerance, to a certain degree. Cato Bailey remembered that administrators in the sporting codes of soccer, cricket and hockey created disunity. Soccer clubs which included Blackpool and Paladins were exclusively for coloureds. The impulses after the war and even in the 50s and 60s, towards unity in sport, should be seen in the context of what was happening in the world at the time. It was a time when people in Africa, South Africa and certain European countries like France, increasingly agitated for unity in sport, decolonisation, independence, freedom of speech and expression. These events surely swayed people toward unity in South Africa and South End in particular. Sport administrators like Dennis Brutus and Cato Bailey were at the forefront in creating unity in sport in South End as reported by Bailey. Malays, Indians and Africans were not allowed to become members and each group had their own independent unit. Bailey recalls that:

... I fought an issue about the segregation they had in the soccer. They didn't allow, the constitution didn't allow blacks, Indians and Malays. The soccer union was first formed as an independent body and then they had no alternative but to change it to the Eastern Province Coloured Union.

Despite this, players from different cultural groups would play for the same team and a team like Victorians Cricket Club or Lads Soccer Club might have been Muslim teams, but then a team like Swallows or Blackpool were mixed as reported by one of the interviewees

⁶⁵ The use of the term "Wallabies" for the local team shows support for the opposition under apartheid.

(George, 2006). However, unity was created in 1962 in soccer for instance, when the Eastern Province Soccer Board was formed together with Indian and African units (Port Elizabeth Football Association, Souvenir Brochure, 1976). There were also impulses towards unity as far as informal sport and recreation was concerned. The Quoit Green was a favourite spot where people from all groups would congregate where they would partake in activities like soccer, cricket and rugby.

This was also where informal soccer, rugby and cricket matches took place after school and over weekends. Social events also took place in halls and some of the most well-known halls were the Lindstrom Hall in Coade Street, Oliver Plunkett in Bunn Street, Muslim Movement Hall in Sprigg Street, the Webb in Walmer Road, the Boys' Club in Forest Hill Road and the Mariaman Hall on the corner of Farie and Gardner Streets (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:54). These halls were used for weddings, dances, birthday parties, stage shows, film shows, and also for shooting competitions, kerm,⁶⁶ snooker, bridge and indoor sports like table tennis. There was also the Victoria Park with its beautiful lawns, flowers and fountains where families, young couples, children and people of different age groups would gather, especially on a Sunday afternoon. Recreation had a wholesome effect and created a spirit of camaraderie amongst the people of South End (George, 2006).

Geography of South End

I would now like reconstruct the geography of South End as it was in 1950s and 1960s, the period I consider to be an era of social maturity. I do this in order to emphasise its growth because South End is an important instance of forced removals. This kind of information will help recreate the space which is intimately connected to a sense of place and a sense of self. In this section I continue to use interviews, but also draw heavily in this chapter on maps, showing the distribution of schools, places of worship, places of recreation and sport, where the businesses were concentrated in relation to residential areas. This spacial mapping of the terrain will provide information of the kind of social mapping that was current at the time. Photographs are used of street scenes which give a sense of where the shops were, what was happening in the streets, whether there were hawkers on the street and whether there were open markets. Furthermore, I will still be drawing on the themes

⁶⁶ Also known as carrom or karrom, a table game of Eastern origin similar to billiards.

I have identified in the previous chapter namely schools (education), places of worship, sport and recreation, but the approach will be different and different questions will be asked, in that the focus will be on how the concentration, the distribution and location of schools and places of worship influenced the perception of people of South End. Also the value of these institutions in the lives of people will be examined.

Distribution of schools

Education played an important role in the lives of South End and it was for this reason that there were ten primary schools and three high schools in the area. A school is more than just an educational institution, but is also a place of social gathering and a place where cultural activities take place. It is a safe haven for children, and it is also an institution where not only skills are imparted but also where norms and values are developed.

Furthermore, the main aim of a school is to impart knowledge to the learners in order to help them to become responsible citizens. At the time of the passing of the Group Areas Act in 1950 the following schools existed in South End.

Primary Schools

1. Cunningham Primary
2. Dower Primary
3. Forest Hill Road Primary
4. Hindu Primary
5. Lea Place Primary
6. Sacred Heart Convent School
7. South End Union Primary
8. St Monica's Primary
9. St Peter's Primary
10. Victoria Park Grey Primary

High Schools

1. South End High
2. St Thomas High
3. Victoria Park High

The schools were well positioned in relation to the residential area. Pupils had easy access to the schools, all these learning institutions were in close proximity and there was no need for transport. Of the nine primary schools two (Cunningham and St Monica's) were situated at the top, three at the bottom (St Peter's, Dower and Hindu) and the rest (St Monica's, Sacred Heart, South End, Lea Place, Forest Hill) were concentrated in the centre of South End. The schools that stood out in terms of architecture and aesthetics were St Peter's, which is also incidentally, the oldest primary (1865), Sacred Heart (1898) and Dower Primary School. St Peter's and Dower had a similar architectural style and a strong English influence in that its style was Gothic and built with stone which enhances its appearance. The two schools were characterised by their high-pitched roofs and natural stone walls. Sacred Heart on the other hand was characterised by the detailed exterior and architecture and its style was Victorian. All the above-mentioned schools were open for people of colour, Cunningham Primary, Sacred Heart Convent School and Victoria Park High which were exclusively for white pupils as determined by government legislation.

It is not the exterior, the architecture, that matters however, but rather the internal activities of a school are more important for the intellectual development of a pupil. In those days, the school was not only a place for obtaining knowledge, but also to fulfil psychological needs as mentioned by Sharifa Rademeyer, a former pupil of Dower Primary. She relates that during break they were provided with bread, milk and fruit. Generally teachers were dedicated, hardworking, strict and instilled values. Furthermore, teachers played multiple roles. For instance A.C. George recalls that his teachers were also his Sunday school teachers. Teachers were part of the community, and they would understand the learners' and their circumstances better. They thus interacted with the pupils not only on an intellectual level, but also on a social and affective level. Soopiah Muthayan echoed the same sentiment with regard to the teachers in South End.

Imam Jalal Ismail also has fond memories of his primary school (Dower) and his teachers:

It was a very good school and good teachers. The principal was Mrs Rawnsley. Some of the other teachers that I experienced there Miss Stacy, Miss Nurick (she was Jewish), Miss Griffen, there was a coloured gentleman Mr Stanley Hendricks, and there was a Muslim teacher, Mr Salie. The grounding was good.

Photo 19: Some of the pupils of Dower Primary School (1961)



Source: Archives – South End Museum

Cato Bailey, who was a learner at St Peter's Primary, relates that discipline formed an integral part of teaching and learning:

Teachers were very strict and if they want to cane you they'll cane you. There was more discipline those days. The saying was 'bend the tree while it is young and don't wait till the tree is strong and you can't bend it'. But today you are not allowed to cane a child at school.

In South End children look for role models in film stars, singers, sport stars and even world leaders. But there were their teachers too who were the role models and who left an indelible mark in their lives. Ridwaan Jobson, a former pupil of Dower Primary, explains that the time at this school formed the best years of his life. A teacher in his opinion that stood out was Mr Ofie Salie: "He would always motivate his learners and would reward them with book prizes at the end of the year", Jobson recalls. He was always an avid sportsman. "A teacher who motivated me to play sports was Mr Moegamat Agherdien", Mr Saliem Davids recollects. Mr Davids says that it was Mr Agherdien who motivated him to play cricket and rugby at Dower Primary. Mr Davids ended up playing provincial rugby and cricket for Eastern Province (coloured team).

Photo 20: Ofie Salie, teacher, sportsman, activist and later principal of Dower Primary.



Source: N. Raban (1950s)

Raymond Uren, a former pupil of St Monica and St Thomas High School, has fond memories of the school and his teachers. He gives credit to the mostly Irish nuns, especially Mother Louis Bertrand, for instilling a work ethic and discipline in him (Unsung Hero: Raymond Patrick Uren, 2010:2). He attended the school St Thomas where Mother Louise Bertrand taught and he later proceeded to South End High. After matriculating from South End High, he enrolled at Fort Hare for a BA degree. He then started his teaching career at South End High, he joined Anti-CAD, Teachers League of South Africa, South African Council of Sport (SACOS) and when he retired he was a board member of the South End Museum and he chaired the Eastern Province Cricket Board.

In the early days most of the schools for coloureds and Indians were linked to certain churches, therefore, the presence of nuns teaching at school which include St Monica's and Sacred Heart. The first school in Port Elizabeth, for instance, was founded in 1824 under the aegis of the London Missionary Society by the missionaries from Bethelsdorp mission station (George, 1983:19). Religious instruction thus formed an integral part of the school syllabus. The above system reminds one (to a certain degree) of the system of Talmudic learning in Poland:

The system of Talmudic learning elaborated in Poland also set the standard for Ashkenazi Jewry everywhere. Jewish education was almost entirely religious, and was intended only for boys. Girls' instruction was limited to some private tutoring in Hebrew and Yiddish. Boys, on the other hand, were taken through a series of very precise, if very narrow steps. Between the ages of four and eight, these pupils went on to study the Talmud, a corpus of commentary on the Bible

that had accumulated from the Babylonian exile onward. Boys who were considered conscientious or gifted scholars went on to attend academics, or yeshivas for more advanced Talmudic study.

Hoffman (2008:53)

The above explanation reveals how alike the two situations were. Both the missionary schools and the Jewish schools were based on religion. However, the missionaries provided more than just affording indigenous inhabitants the opportunity to education and introducing them to Christianity. According to Giliomee and Mbenga (2007:100) the achievement of the missionaries was not the “conversion of individual Africans, but the introduction of agricultural techniques such as irrigation and ploughing, the inculcation of literacy and the dispensing of rudimentary Western medicines”. In both the type of school Hoffman mentions, and the mission schools in South End, rigour in learning and work ethic was a hallmark.

It was stated earlier that the churches provided education for the coloured and Indian children in Port Elizabeth from as early 1984. But in South End in particular the mission schools only operated from 1870 and this lasted until 1950 (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:34). In contrast the state provided education for whites from as early as 1854 in Port Elizabeth and from 1875 in South End. The state schools (primary) for whites include Victoria Park Grey Primary (1895) and Cunningham Primary (1916). The state schools for coloureds and Indians were Lea Place Primary (1950) and Forest Hill Road Primary (1952).

During the 1950s when the state took education over from the churches, coloureds and Indians realised even more fully the value of education. They viewed education as a weapon against the very apartheid which was trying to control it. This seemed to be the trend among coloureds and Indians during that period, for instance in North End, East London:

At this time, the 1950s and 60s, North End parents knew an education was a treasure to be had. Many children knew it too – it was either early to a life of grind or to school as far as possible (Thomas & Thomas, 2008:246).

Many pupils in South End were eager to proceed as far as possible in school. Before boys and girls had to join the work force as soon as they had passed Standard 6. This picture changed in the 1960s as Indians and coloureds proceeded through to Standard 10, despite

the poor infrastructure and resources of these schools and the poor funding received from the government.

At this point there were three high schools in South End, one for whites (Victoria Park High School) and two schools for coloureds and Indians (St Thomas and South End High). Victoria Park High was established in 1940 and is situated between Kenny and Bullen Street (presently it is still functioning); St Thomas High started in 1942 and was situated in Kenny Street and South End High was situated in Mitchell Street. South End High was demolished and St Thomas was rebuilt in the Northern Areas.

Although three high schools are mentioned above, South End High will be the focus of this section mainly because the school produced pupils who not only excelled academically, but also achieved honours in the different sporting codes. They truly lived up to the motto of the school, *Meliora Peto*, which means to strive for better. Many former pupils of South End High achieved top positions in life. The teachers also played a significant role in moulding the learners and assisting them to achieve their goals. The 'non-white' residents of South End agitated for a long time for a high school before they were granted the use of the school building of South End Grey Primary School in 1950. It was initially called South End Higher Primary School with Mr N.R. Myburgh as acting principal.

The school building was a plain structure, with long corridors and high plastered walls, probably a sign to pupils that once they are inside, there is no way out. For the first few years South End High catered for children up to Standard 8. Soon the numbers increased, because pupils were successful and this attracted pupils from other areas in Port Elizabeth as far as Uitenhage. South End High offered a range of subjects which included English, Afrikaans, Mathematics, Physical Science, Public Administration, Latin, Home Economics and Woodwork and others. Thus, the school catered for a wide range of subject choices and possible career paths.

Over the years South End High maintained a high standard and here credit should be given to the dedicated teachers which included Mr F. Landman, Mrs O. Landman, Mr R Uren, Mr L. Maart, Mr J. Jardien, Mr K. Ahgoo, Mr L. Adrian, Mrs D. de Doncker and others. Mr Raymond Uren (as an example), a graduate from Fort Hare University, was an excellent English and Latin teacher. His pupils always achieved top marks in his subjects, due to his teaching style and his continuous motivation. Uren also motivated his pupils to excel in

sport. He was not only a good coach in cricket, but also was involved in athletics and aside from this was also an astute sport administrator. Mr Uren was recently rewarded for his hard work with an Honorary Doctorate degree from Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, for the contribution he made towards education and sport in the community.

One of the teachers of South End High became a world renowned poet, namely Arthur Nortje. Nortje grew up in Port Elizabeth, attended Peterson High School, where he was taught English by Dennis Brutus who was also his literary mentor. In October 1965 he took up a scholarship to study at Oxford University and he died there in 1970.

Photo 21: New teachers who joined South End High School (left to right) Mr S. Moodley, Mr A. Nortje, Mr A. George and Mr A. Renze



Source: *Eastern Province Herald* (1965)

Then there were the pupils who excelled in their careers. South End High boasted a long line of achievers: B Ranchod, former dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Durban Westville (University of KwaZulu Natal) and former Ambassador of South Africa to the Netherlands; Winston Nagan, Professor of Law; A.C. George, Principal and Inspector of Schools; R.P. Uren, Principal, political activist and sport administrator and the Adams family, three brothers and one sister who qualified as medical doctors – Ganief, Armien, Jamiel and Kalthoem.

In South End, education and religion went together because places of worship, like the schools, were educational institutions. They also had a socialisation function and they served

as a safe haven and a place where spiritual life, and norms and values were enhanced. This brings us to the places of worship and how they were concentrated in South End.

South End had eight churches, two temples and two mosques, which is an indication of their level of faith. These places of worship reflect the diverse ethnic and religious groups and the cosmopolitan nature of the community. It is also an indication of the tolerance and peaceful co-existence that prevailed in the area. Moreover, South End was one of the few suburbs in Port Elizabeth area that could boast a large number of places of worship.

Distribution of churches

Churches

- St Peter's Church
- South End Union Congregational Church
- Baptist Church (Rufane Vale)
- Baptist Church (Walmer Road)
- Methodist Church
- Blessed Oliver Plunkett Catholic Church
- Apostolic Church
- Dutch Reformed Church

Temples

- Mariamam Temple
- Upper Valley Road Temple

Mosques

- Masjid ul Abraar
- Masjid ul Aziz

Like the school, most of the churches were also concentrated in the centre of South End. St Peter's was the oldest of these churches and was opened on 29 July 1877.

Photo 22: St. Peter's Church situated in Rock Street.



Source: Harradine (1995)

One of the prominent leaders of the church in the 1930s and 1940s was Father Paddy, who not only served as minister and principal of the St Peter's Church and School respectively, but was also instrumental in the formation of Paladins Soccer Club and St Peter's Hockey Club.

Photo 23: Father Alfred Paddy



Source: Archives, South End Museum

Father Alfred Paddy was also one of the persons who served as an executive member and who excluded blacks and Non-Christian Asiatics from affiliating to the Coloured Girls Hockey Union (see below draft of constitution 20 June 1933):

III Membership: (a) That membership of this Union and/or any club affiliated thereto shall be open to such persons and such clubs as this Union in open meetings

approves, and shall definitely exclude Native Aborigines and non-Christian Asiatics.

The rules that were laid down by the Hockey Union were contrary to what many people stood for and went against the grain of the peaceful co-existence and tolerance that prevailed in South End. The act by the Union is also sheer discrimination against “Native Aborigines” and “non-Christian Asiatics” and provides evidence of the very real existence of racial prejudice that co-existed with the tolerance that many interviewees asserted was dominant.

St Peter’s thus made its mark as a church, school and sport centre. Like St Peter’s, the South End Union Church was a church school. The church was named ‘Union Church’ in recognition of the non-racial and non-denominational nature of its congregants. Reverend Weiss initiated the planning and subsequent construction of the church. The church was a landmark in Rudolph Street where it was situated. A.C. George has fond memories of the church because it was the place where he received his secular education, where he attended Sunday school, played table tennis in the hall after school and where his family would go for services during the week and on Sundays. The Boys’ and Girls’ Brigade were a prominent feature of the Union Church, and this not only kept the children out of the street but it also instilled discipline in them and brought families and members together.

On the upper edge of the southern bank of the Baakens River stood the Rufane Vale Baptist Church. It may not have had the splendour of St Peter’s or the Union Church – as it was a mere wood-and-iron structure – but it served the same purpose and it also housed parishioners who made a major contribution in uplifting the South End community. The funding of the church was initiated in the 1900s by Reverend A. Hull of the Queen Street Baptist Church. The Rufane Vale Mission existed as a separate church from the Walmer Road Baptist Church until 1952 (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:16). The Baptist Church, with its front façade that has a Gothic appearance, once stood proud and erect on the corner of Walmer Road and Bullen Street. The church was established in 1888, with twenty five members and Rev. H.J. Cousins was the first minister (Kenhall, 1988:23). The church, showed rapid development but in 1913 the inter-racial character of the church ended with the exodus of the larger European section of the congregation to form the Victoria Park Baptist Church. Thereafter the church went through a difficult period of development under successive ministers. Then later it experienced a renewed upsurge in interest and

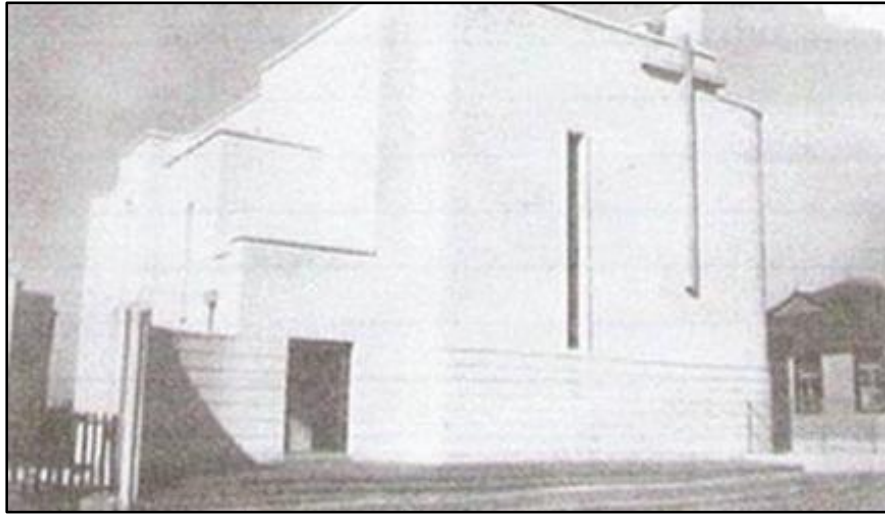
membership until 1970. Today it is no more, after it was deconsecrated in 1970, as a result of the Group Areas Act and in its place stands a business.

Reverend Jones Fish of the Russel Road Methodist Church started Methodism in South End in 1872. He also initiated the building of the Pier Street Methodist Church which was built on the corner of Upper Pier and Mitchell Streets. At a meeting held on 15 July 1881, it was decided to build a church and on 3 May 1882, two foundation stones were laid by Mr R. King and Mr H. Bisseker (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:12). His church was later affected by the Group Areas Act and had to be expropriated. Today the space is occupied by townhouses.

Children will always remember the Oliver Plunkett Church for the film shows the fundraising organisers arranged in the adjacent hall. But there were also concerts held in the hall. The Blessed Oliver Plunkett Church may look plain from the outside but the interior was very rich and it was the Catholic congregation that made it a vibrant church. Aside from the men's and women's societies which did excellent yeoman work in the South End community, the church also had an active youth group.

The Blessed Oliver Plunkett Church was opened in 1936 and the congregation consisted of coloureds as well as white members. The first parish priest was Father John Little. The Oliver Plunkett Hall which was attached to the church was a cultural centre where many games and indoor sports were played. Many weddings, meetings, receptions, dances and cultural activities were held in the hall. As a result of the implementation of the Group Areas Act, the church finally closed its doors in the early 1970s (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:19).

Photo 24: Upper Pier Street, 1936. The Blessed Oliver Plunket Church.



Source: Haradine (n.d.)

The work of the New Apostolic Church started in South End on the instruction of the Apostle H.F. Schlaphoff. Early services were held in the home of Mrs. Wringquest and her son-in-law, Mr Bayley. Later services were held in the garage of the District Elder, J.R. Bell. Eventually the church was built in Rudolph Street and inaugurated on 11 November 1945 by Apostle Schlaphoff. This church was also affected by the Group Areas Act as a result the congregation were moved to the Northern Areas. The complex was taken over by members from the Southdene Congregation, which were white parishioners, in the early 1970s (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:23).

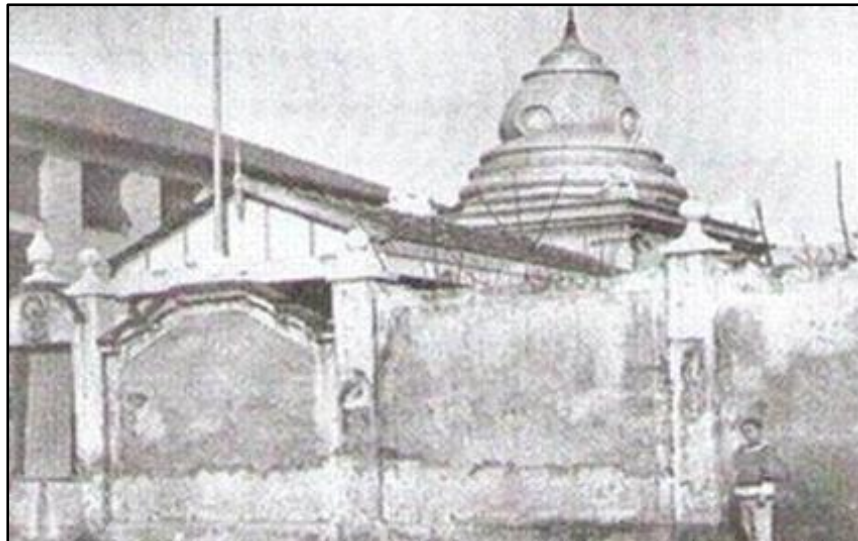
The Dutch Reformed Church and the First Avenue (Walmer Road) Baptist Church are the only two church buildings, besides the two mosques, which remain in present day South End. The purchase of the Presbyterian Church Building in Bullen Street South End in 1928 led the way to the establishment of the southerly part of the Pienaar Congregation (Port Elizabeth Central) as an independent congregation (Terblanche, 1973:124). On the instruction of the church authorities the Port Elizabeth-South Dutch Reformed Church was declared independent on 19 October 1929 (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:19-20).

Presently there is a lack of information about the black congregation of South End, who attended church in a makeshift building at the bottom of Walmer Road. Julia Parley (2008) recalls:

My church was called Rabeh, pronounced Gabeh. [It was called], the Presbyterian Church of Africa ... The minister there was Mr Mbele. He used to live in Walmer Township. He used to come every Sunday [to deliver sermons] ... We had Sunday School on the pavement.

One of the striking landmarks in Gardner Street, was the Shri Mariaman Temple, with its impressive silver dome and stylish Eastern architecture. It was here where the Gujaratis held regular meetings, celebrated festivals and offered prayers and services. The Gujarati community of South End saw a need for a temple and established it there in 1912. The temple was rebuilt and consecrated on 27 August 1940 by the officiating priest B.S.M. Pillay (Harradine, 1994:225). In 1971 this temple was sold by the administrators and it sparked an uproar from progressive members, who made an appeal to the State President. The latter agreed to re-transfer it to the community. The administrators refused to change their plan and so the temple was lost to the community (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:16).

Photo 25: Gardner Street. The Shri Mariamman Temple shortly before demolition. It was built in 1912 and re-built in 1940



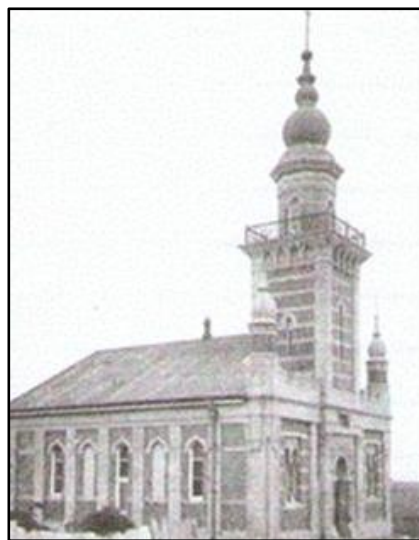
Source: M. Harradine (1994)

The Upper Valley Road Temple (Shri Siva Subramanier Aylayam) lies nestled in the dale named Baakens Valley, next to the Baakens River. The temple was a conspicuous Building, among houses, businesses and factories in that part of South End. The temple was an initiative of a group of prominent members of the Tamil community. They first attended St Peter's Church, but felt unhappy and decided to build a temple. In May 1893,

the community purchased land for the sum of 125 Pounds. The opening of the temple took place on 8 May 1903 (Harradine, 1994:113). The temple was renovated in 1950 and is still used today.

One cannot miss the mosque with its lofty minaret and prominent pitched roof as it rises above all the other structures in Rudolph Street. Also noticeable is its rich Eastern and English architectural style. Masjied ul Abraar (Mosque of the Righteous) or Rudolph Street as it was commonly known, was the initiative of Imam Jalaludien Abrahams and his trustees. On 4 September 1893 plans were submitted by the Imam for a mosque to be built in Rudolph Street. The Mosque was completed in 1894 and is still in use today (Masjiedul Abraar Centenary Brochure). At the bottom end of South End in Pier Street, stands another mosque namely Masjied ul Aziz or Pier Street Mosque as it is generally known.

Photo 26: One of the earlier photos of Pier Street Mosque. The mosque has undergone a number of structural transformations.



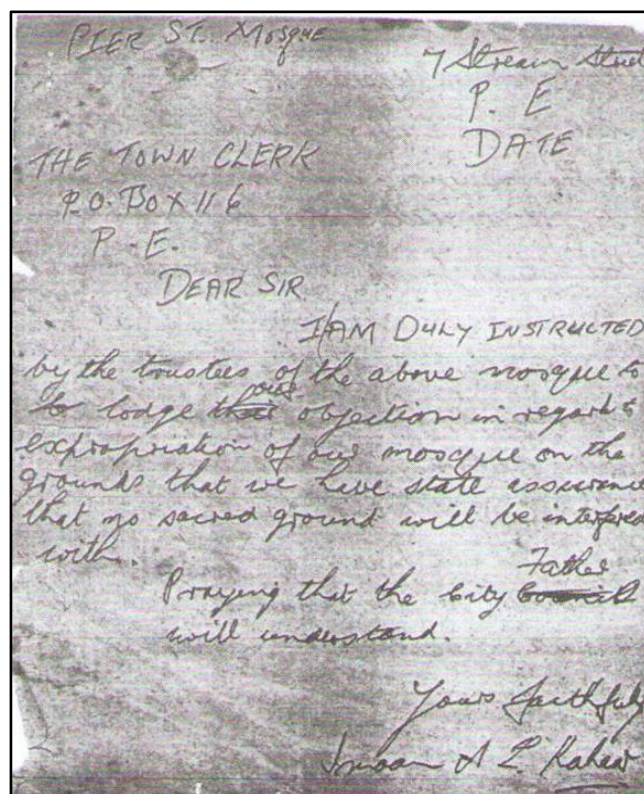
Source: Harradine (1994)

The origins of the Pier Street Mosque date back to when the Strand Street Mosque was sold in 1900. The latter was registered and held in trust for the Malay community by Imam Abdul Wahab Salie (Masjidul Aziz Brochure). Imam Abdul Wahab Salie was one of the most prominent Muslims of his day. He was responsible for the establishment of the Pier Street Mosque. Imam Salie was the first Imam of the mosque and he died on 28 October at the ripe age of 114 years. The design and architectural work of the mosque was

done by Mr J.A. Holland. The mosque was completed and opened on 27 July 1901 (Abrahams, 1988:34).

The mosque was the subject of much discussion and controversy when South End was declared white and threats were made to demolish the mosque. The case went as far as the United Nations, where Muslim nations vehemently opposed the move and declared that a mosque is holy ground and could not be demolished. Then later the municipality decided to build a freeway across the mosque. This led to substantial agitation by the Muslim community which landed the matter in the South African Parliament. The Muslims won the day when the Nationalist Government agreed to stop the freeway from running over the mosque. Evidence of this is the uncompleted section of the freeway looking towards the mosque (Abrahams, 1988:34). At the time of this debate Imam Abdul Latief Kahaar was the imam of the Pier Street Mosque. He wrote numerous letters (including the one below) in objecting to the mosque being expropriated (also see preliminary notice of expropriation from the municipality).

Photo 27: A rough draft of a letter sent to the Town Clerk



PIER ST. Mosque
7 Stream Street
P. E.
DATE

THE TOWN CLERK
P.O. BOX 116
P. E.

DEAR SIR

I AM DULY INSTRUCTED
by the trustees of the above mosque to
to lodge ~~that~~ ^{put} objection in regard to
expropriation of our mosque on the
grounds that we have state assurance
that no sacred ground will be interfered
with.

Praying that the City Council
will understand.


Yours faithfully
Imam A L Kahaar

Source: Pier Street Mosque – Archives

Photo 28: Letter of expropriation from the Town Clerk

**THE FOLLOWING ARE EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS RECEIVED FROM THE
TOWN CLERK**

*City of
Port Elizabeth*



*Stad
Port Elizabeth*

TELEPHONE: 2-7961
TELEFOON:
P.O. BOX: 116
POSBUS:
POSTCODE: 6000
POSKODE:

MR. BLECHER

DEALS WITH THIS MATTER
HANTEER HIERDIE SAAK

PLEASE QUOTE REFERENCE
MELD VERWYSING 438.

E1/22/6

OFFICE OF THE TOWN CLERK
KANTOOR VAN DIE STADSKLERK

FSB/JM 17th February, 1975.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE OF EXPROPRIATION

TO: Malay Community

"Notice is hereby given in terms of Section 131 of Municipal Ordinance No. 19 of 1951 (as amended) that the Council intends to expropriate certain land being Portion Erf 1271, South End,"

"The City Engineer has now advised that a portion of Erf 1271, South End, is required for Road purposes."

"The land now required comprises the whole of Erf 1271, South End, except the area occupied by the Mosque Building and the triangular area at the north-east of the Erf on which is situated the ablution block which has direct access into the Mosque."

"You are further notified that a copy of this preliminary notice has been served on the Registrar of Deeds who will not register transfer of the land described above, or any right in respect thereof to any person except the Council. From the date of the service upon you of this notice you are notified, that unless and until such notice is withdrawn, the owner of the land described above shall not alienate, dispose of, let or otherwise deal with the land or right in respect thereof and any person who demolishes, damages, alters or in any other manner impairs the land or the right in respect thereof described in this notice, shall be guilty of an offence."

21st April, 1975

"I must once again point out that whilst your claim for compensation has been noted, before the matter can be fully investigated, it would be appreciated if you could supply me with a list of the names of the tenants on the above mentioned properties as well as the rental being paid by them."

29th May, 1975

"The question of the compensation is still being investigated, and I will advise you further herein in due course."

Source: Pierre Street Mosque – Archives

It is evident from the above and as seen on the map, that there were numerous places of worship and indicating that the surrounding community had a cosmopolitan range of religious beliefs and were able to formally and freely construct places of worship. They were spread evenly across the area and in walking distance. The places of worship did not only cater for the religious needs, but also the educational and recreational needs. Schools were in most cases affiliated to a religious institution. For example, the educational needs of the Muslim children were also catered for in the form of madressahs in the afternoon held at the mosques.

Sport, recreation and commerce

In the 1950s and 1960s sport played an important role in the lives of the people of South End. Formal and informal sports were played mainly on the Victoria Park Ground (V.P.) situated behind the South End Cemetery (Forest Hill Road) and the Schaefer Ground was situated near the airport in Allister Miller Road. Soccer, cricket, softball and baseball were played on the V.P. Grounds and rugby and hockey were played on the Schaefer ground. The Pirates Cricket Club and the Victoria Park Football Club were exclusively for whites and they had their own playing fields. These fields were situated next to the V.P. fields.

Social events were very popular in South End and took place in halls distributed throughout the area. The most well-known of these were the Lindstrom Hall in Coodes Street, Oliver Plunkett in Bunn Street, Muslim Movement Hall in Sprigg Street, the Web in Walmer Road, the Boys' Club in Forest Hill Road and the Mariaman Hall on the corner of Farie and Gardner Streets (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:54). Other meeting places in South End where people of various age groups used to gather were the Palace bioscope and the Roxy in South Union Street. Everybody was welcome at the Palace bioscope and it attracted both young and old. During the week the double feature shows was a favourite with lovers and young couples. Saturday matinee shows attracted youngsters and they would turn up in droves. The Palace played hundreds of films over the years (1940s to 1970s) and stars that feature were Errol Flynn, Johnny Weissmuller, Charlton Heston, Kirk Douglas, Sean Connery, Allan Ladd, Audie Murphy and many others. The back rows were popular seats. The Palace also had its special odours and sounds. For instance, if the projector somehow or other experienced a technical problem, especially if the sound disappeared, then all patrons would scream in unison "sound!" Dancing was also very popular in South End. Cato Bailey said that a popular dance during his time was the quadrille, which was a square dance.

Manie's Hop was a favourite dancing and hangout spot in Sprigg Street. It was well-liked by teenagers and young couples and dancing was from eight till late. Disc Jockeys would play the songs of artists such as Elvis Presley, Cliff Richard, Tom Jones, The Marmalades, The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, Herman's Hermits and many others.

The businesses on the other hand were mainly concentrated in Walmer Road, South Union Street and Valley Road and also interesting to note is that every top and bottom end of a street had a shop. Some of the well known cafes in Walmer Road were Gee Dees for its hot curries, C.R. Pillay for the best fish and chips in town, London Café and Elite Café. There were also a number of fruit and vegetable stalls in Walmer Road, including the one belonging to Mrs Kader, whom we affectionately called 'Aunty'. There were also a number of vendors who sold fresh fruit and other refreshments at the bridge, which was located where South Union Street joined North Union Street and fresh fish at the bottom of Walmer Road (Agherdien, 1977:65).

Photo 29: Fresh fish on sale daily at the bottom of Walmer Road.



Source: *Eastern Province Herald* (1963)

It should be noted that these businesses also created jobs for the residents of South End. Other places of work include Algoa Glassworks, Stuttaford Storage and Van Lines, and Imperial Steam Laundry in Upper Valley Road, Lions Clothing Factory in Farie Street, Shoe and Clothing shops including Makans in Walmer Road, and the hotels in Walmer Road. These include the Prince of Wales Hotel, the Collins Hotel and opposite it was the Tyrone Hotel. These were the places where fishermen would hang out to have a draught.

It was also here where one would witness the occasional fights between the ones who had one too many. These drinking holes were segregated because legislation barred people of colour from mingling socially with whites.

There were different shops in South End, with mainly Chinese, Greeks, Portuguese and Indian owners. Each one, according to Maureen van Staden, plied a variety of goods and each shop had its unique smells, including paraffin, curry and other spices from Lalla's bayrum, koeksisters, fish smells, bread and others. Van Staden recalls that the owners would serve clients over the counter; had no cash register; used a box where they stored the money under the counter, and would wrap paper around the bread (there were no plastic wrappers).

Mrs Van Staden describe Walmer Road as a busy area; everybody was in the street, boys running, playing with a wire and bicycle rim, and the tailor would sit in front of his shop doing his sewing, with a tape measure around his neck. There was also fun and laughter, ladies bargaining, shop owners plying their trade and babbling sounds of different languages could be heard.

Economy, politic and removals

It was mentioned in the previous chapter that Port Elizabeth developed into an important harbour due to its strategic position. It became an important commercial centre for wool, ostrich feathers, hides, skins and other agricultural products. Port Elizabeth also grew into an important centre for the textile and shoe industries.

The city also developed as a major motor industrial centre, for instance Ford Motor Company (1927). These initiatives also stimulated related industries. The motor industry, the railway system, the skills of the various groups in Port Elizabeth, together with other developments led to the growth of the city and South End. It must be remembered that South End was an area situated near a number of industries and thus attracted many people to the area. These are factors that led to the development and growth of South End.

It was mentioned earlier that South End developed slowly. Although building plots were available in the early days few of them were purchased or developed as the costs of building and renting were very expensive. The dwellings which existed were very

primitive (Redgrave, 1947:72). But later, around the 1920s South End developed rapidly, when commercial and activities in Port Elizabeth increased, in this ways jobs were created and people moved into South End. As South End developed, with diverse groups moving into the area, the area acquired a unique character and it transformed into a special plural society. Then the Nationalist Government came into power and introduced draconian laws prohibiting people of different colours to live together.

While many people regarded South End as a harmonious, a safe place and crime free, there were also negative views. This is a letter from “Summerstrand” to the Editor of the *Evening Post*:

Words fail to express the eyesore to me as a resident of Summerstrand who has to travel through South Union Street and the lower end of Walmer Road.

It is a blot on the city. We have the opportunity now to clear up this area. It is hoped that Government’s plan will be supported by all Europeans in Ward 1 (*Evening Post*, 05/65).

The reader who was from Summerstrand, an affluent area in Port Elizabeth, was probably concerned that the valuation of their property would drop, as South End was situated near Summerstrand. The concern was also that many people from ‘outside’ regarded it as a crime-ridden area.

Another reader ‘Realist’ (*Evening Post*, 8/05/65) had the same concerns as ‘Summerstrand’. This person says:

Why all the fuss about the replanning of South End? We have known about it for ages and so have all the non-whites who will be affected ...

Port Elizabeth is the most haphazard higgledy-piggledy place when it could be a show city with that wonderful stretch of coastline at present marred by slums and oil tanks.

‘Realist’ seemed to be unsympathetic with the lot that was facing the non-white group and his concern was that South End should be cleared of all ‘slum dwellers’, and in this way it would become a model city. These ‘outsiders’ were unaware that South End was a vibrant area, where people of diverse communities and religious groups lived harmoniously

together by and large. They were however intent on seeing this area destroyed and separating whites from non-whites.

Agherdien, *et al.* (1997:79) say that some whites had their own hidden agenda for wanting to see the Group Areas Act implemented. They also state that whites put forward the most ludicrous arguments in favour of the implementation of the Act, that there were many brothels, shebeens and gambling dens; that the police could hardly cope with that; that the area would become congested with non-whites if they remained there. The argument of some whites was that area was decaying and that non-whites did not look after their homes. Agherdien, *et al.* (1997:79) hold the opinion that the real fear which was readily expressed, was there would be an influx of non-whites into the area, which would constitute a threat to the way of life of whites in adjacent areas.

Mr Cato Bailey stated in an interview that certain parts of South End had degenerated:

They refer to the bottom of South End as a slum area ... because it was crowded. There weren't houses for the people, so when you get a roof over your head, you're going to stay.

The proponents of removals put forward their loaded and subjective reasons for slum clearance, but there are obvious reasons for this inhumane act. The fact that South End and areas like District Six were vibrant, pulsating and heterogeneous communities that went against the grain of apartheid made it a number one target for clearance under any guise. Also the strategic position – South End was close to all amenities – and its valuation as prime area are some of the reasons for removals. South End encroaching on white areas like Humeral and Summerstrand can be viewed as an ostensible reason for clearance.

Another resident of St Albans, Alfred J. Russell, in a letter to the Evening Post (13/03/1965) argues that poverty is to be blamed for the bad conditions in South End:

South End people do not differ from any other type of Port Elizabeth ... If the bars and bottle stores were closed down, and the Council paid a little more attention to the repair and cleaning of the streets, there would be little to complain of in South End.

We gather from the above that poverty and alcohol abuse were some of the social problems, but also that the government did not play their part in upgrading South End. This was probably due to the fact that South End was earmarked as a future 'white' area. The view of Agherdien, *et al.* (1997:79) is that the threat of the government to declare the area 'white' led to the decay, and not the neglect of the communities and owners themselves.

Before the implementation of the Group Areas Act in various parts of South Africa, the government appointed the Group Areas Board in 1950 to conduct a public enquiry to hear evidence from local authorities for the proposal for racial zoning; to make inspections in loco, and to call for objections (*Eastern Province Herald*, 11/11/56). These recommendations were then submitted to the Minister of Interior who would make the final decision on Group Areas.

Initially, there were numerous problems as to areas where they would relocate the non-whites. Aside from the logistical problems, there were also financial implications and that it would impose a burden on the city as Reverend J.P. Gutch of St Mark's Church pointed out (Letter to Editor, *Evening Post*, 7/11/1956). Gutch says that the City Council would be faced with the impossible task of providing homes for the thousands of displaced persons who would be rendered homeless by the implementation of the Act. A few years later the financial aspect of the removals was discussed and raised by Councillor Dubb in a special meeting of the City Council held on 10 December 1962. Dubb stated that:

The Department should be aware that we have taken a number of people from slums and where they have been before they have lived and squatted and paid no rental. They now find themselves in houses where they are unable to pay rentals. I feel this is something where the Government must help us to subsidise these rentals. It is too great a burden on the ratepayers of Port Elizabeth to carry the rentals which these people are unable to pay.

(Source: Group Areas Act and Ordinance File 2/4, Part 8 (1962))

Despite these problems the government, together with the P.E. City Council was determined to continue with the removals. This was reflected in a statement made by the City Council in the *Evening Post*, 1 February, 1963:



Besides, the fact that South End was viewed as a slum area (a ploy to evict South Enders) there were also other reasons for getting rid of South End. Some of the reasons were the question of regulation and the question of political control influenced this decision to do away with this community.

This control from the outside is foregrounded by Rita Barnard (2007:6) when she says that political control is space dependent:

under apartheid geography certainly did make a major difference. All the essential political features of South Africa's "pigmentocratic industrialized state" were fundamentally space dependent: the classification of the population into distinct racial categories, the segregation of residential areas on the basis of race, the restriction of black urbanization, the system of migrant labour from rural areas to the town, the emphasis on ethnicity and traditionalism, and the formidable apparatus of state surveillance and control. Of all these features, there is not a single one that did not, in practice, rely on the power of space to separate individuals from each other, to direct and control their movements, and to reinforce social distinctions. Indeed, without such territorial devices as the black township and the Bantustan, and the policing of these spaces by means of forced removals and the pass laws, apartheid would have been impossible to implement.

Apartheid geography was enforced by the Nationalist government through the Group Areas Act, which determined division on the basis of race. Secondly economic division was created by means of job reservation. Blacks mainly held unskilled jobs and semiskilled jobs were reserved for coloureds and Indians. White dominance in the market place was thus ensured and in this way competition was eliminated. Where political spaces are concerned, the Nationalist government dominated control and created Bantustans and in these areas they delegated power to blacks. Lastly cultural spaces were created in the guise of granting blacks, coloureds and Indians to develop according to their own culture and traditions.

This spirit of tolerance and altruism, caring and sharing were interrupted when the Nationalist Government decreed that people of different colours and cultures could not live together any longer. The Group Areas Act was thus introduced, which set aside separate residential areas for each population group, but the Act did not go unchallenged. In fact, since its promulgation with regard to South End in 1963 it was vehemently resisted, protest meetings were held (see picture of protest meeting on Quoit Green (page 113); protest marches were held; letters were written to the press and at the forefront of these protest meetings were people like Frank Landman, Dennis Brutus, Ofie Salie and others. But despite the relocation and the challenges the evictees had to face, the people took these values with them wherever they moved.

According to Du Pré (1994) the Group Areas aimed at restricting each population group to defined places as far as ownership, occupancy and trading were concerned. Du Pré states further that the ultimate goal of the Group Areas Act was to extend restrictions in order to establish residential racial purity by shifting groups from one place to another.

One of the stories of shame of South End is that the Municipality of Port Elizabeth conspired with the government of the day to evict non-whites from South End. These unscrupulous local authorities together with property developers sat down and planned the redevelopment of South End. A report in the *Eastern Province Herald*, entitled “A city’s shame” (11/12/1997) refers to this incident as:

One of the most shameful episodes of Port Elizabeth’s history was the way its citizens allowed the destruction of South End and all that its community stood for.

It was a place where all races lived in harmony, in place where cultures met and enriched one another, a place where people ran small businesses, plied their trades, worshipped in mosque, church or temple and respected one another for what they were.

The report says further that:

One reason South End had to go was that it was very different to all but a few similar enclaves in the rise of South Africa. It was living proof that multiracialism could flourish, that tolerance and understanding could build a happy community ...

The shame of South End's story is that civic leaders did not oppose its destruction – in fact they seem to have welcomed the plan to sweep clean what many regarded as a slum.

Its disappearance diminished us all and brought untold misery and hardship ...

A newspaper report is always written from a certain perspective and here they laid bare the facts, that diversity seemed to work for the South End community. However, there were also those who opposed it and were in favour of forced removals.

Thus far, I have looked at the geographical layout of South End, at significant factors of South End and themes which included sport and religion and how these affected people's lives – how space structured people's lives, the general atmosphere that prevailed in South End and the implementation of the Group Areas Act. I now turn to explore the Group Areas Act and how it affected the lives of the people of this area.

Relocation and how it affected people's lives

Agherdien, *et al.* (1997: Introduction) state that the people of South End became obsessed with the impending removals and the eviction nature was a death notice as many died of broken hearts long before the bulldozers and removal trucks arrived and lastly that the pain, anguish and worry took its toll long before the move was made. Many residents refused to move to their designated areas and chose instead to emigrate. These were the middle class, the intelligentsia, the professionals, who were people with much needed skills and also emigrated to countries such as Canada, New Zealand, Australia, England and the USA.

An example of those who left the country is the brother of Cato Bailey:

Lots of people got out of the country, it's like I told you about my brother, who stayed in Cape Town. He said I am not bowing to the government, he moved out [to Australia], which was a very good move he made. Today he is a retired man ... he is eighty six.

On asking Mrs Williams what emotions she experienced at having to leave South End she had the following to say:

It was heartbreaking to think you had to break up your home and to go into an area you don't even know. You don't know what type of people you are going to be put with.

Mrs Williams' response on how the relocation transformed her life was as follows:

It did not make me a better person, it made me a bitter person ... you were not asked, you were told to get out and that made me a bitter person.

Most of the respondents' concerns were the fear of going to the unknown, not knowing what to expect in the new areas and who their new neighbours were going to be, the cost involved and the fear about whether they would be able to adapt in the new area. The following extract by Rive cited in Jeppe and Soudien (1990:112) captures this sense of loss on being forcibly removed:

It was desperately in need of slum clearance. Its inhabitants would have been happier had its cockroach and rat-infested houses been knocked down and sturdier ones erected in their place. One could sense the pride with which the earliest occupants of Bloemhof and Stirling Street flats moved into their new apartments which had electricity, bathrooms and running water.

But when the law was enforced, that vibrant community was allowed no choice, but to move. The inhabitants were declared disqualified persons and banished to the barren and desolate wastelands of the Cape Flats. And there, with almost malicious irony, it seems in order to remind them of their plundered past, the new areas were given names such as Hanover park and Lavender Hill.

Mr Shun Pillay a former resident of South End says that the relocation had an adverse outcome on the older folk and it also affected family life:

The moving from South End had a devastating effect on the older folk because they had reached the end of their lives, they died virtually heartbroken because they would not see their children enjoy those things which they had worked so hard for ...

Land was much more expensive; we had to build homes at much higher prices which now brought a tremendous change in the family pattern. Previously most females stayed at home to look after the families, but were now forced to go out and work to augment the family income to meet the increased expenditure, this resulted in a lack of discipline at home, the collapse of close family pattern which had existed in South End.

(Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:101)

Mr Leo Davis who had a hardware shop in South End relates that they had to change their business after the relocation:

we were very, very unhappy to leave South End ... we enjoyed working there, we enjoyed the atmosphere, we enjoyed the people and to have to come to North End, was not something we wanted.

we moved from a residential area that had a bit of 'commerce and industry to an area that had all commerce and industry and only small residential, so our business had to change, from just being normal hardware to a more specialised locksmith and key cutters and safes. (L. Davis, 20/02/2008)

Shun Pillay explains in the above interview that the relocation affected people adversely; it created more expenses, it uprooted and destroyed families and it create a collapse in family patterns. Leo Davis reinforces that they were very unhappy to leave South End, as they were used to a certain pattern, the atmosphere and the people in the neighbourhood. They also had to change their business to suit the new circumstances.

Mr Saliem Davids says that it only dawned upon him about the Group Areas and the relocation when he read about it in the newspaper. Mr Davids states that the Group Areas Act and the subsequent relocations caused a lot of heart sore, especially among the older people. Furthermore, he speaks with contempt of the Nationalist Government and says that they did not realise the hurt and injustices they had caused:

Dit was in die middel van die 60s, so maak ek een aand die koerant oop ... en ek sien daar groot in pikswart letters geskryf 'South End declared white' Daai alleen het geslaan soos 'n sweepstok ... veral die oumense was baie hartseer. The National Party government sal nooit kan dink hoe hulle die mense seer gemaak het nie en vandag expect hulle ons moet vergeet en vergewe?

[It was in the mix-sixties, when I opened the newspaper ... and I saw there written in big print black letters "South End declared white". That alone hit me like a whipstick. The National Party government would never realise how they have hurt the people and today they expect us to forgive and forget?]

Mr Davids relates further state their neighbour who became sick and subsequently died when she heard the news that she had to relocate:

Die ouvrou oorkant ons, ons het haar geroep Aunty Emmy [Keyster] ... het siek geword vir daardie laaste jaar of twee en die ou vrou het gedood. Die hartseer wat die ou vrou ondervind het toe sy die nuus gekry het toe sy moes trek [was te veel] ... die Keysters het drie huise geown oorkant ons.

[The old lady who lived opposite us, we called her Aunty Emmy [Keyster] ... became sick the last year or two and the old lady died . The heart sore that the old lady experienced when she received the news [was too much] ... the Keyster's own three houses opposite us. (S. Davids, 28/09/2006)

What remains now of this chapter is a brief discussion of the consequences of the destruction of this space and the consequences for the subjects who lived their life in this space and was suddenly removed to another space. This move firstly caused integration into the new space and fragmentation of the individual and the community. The community in South End was a stable one and its people felt secure and after the move the stability was no longer there. People were moved randomly, they were shifted to an unknown area and it was situated far from all amenities. These areas were underdeveloped, some of them had no streets, there were no shops, no transport, there were no schools, no places of worship and it was more often than not utter desolation. It was in sharp contrast to the well developed South End as indicated earlier in this chapter. Julia Parley, who moved from South End to Kwazakhele some twenty kilometres away, said that their area had no streets, the houses were incomplete, there were no ceilings and some of the residents were accommodated in tents.

South End was no more, the community was no more and people had to pick up the pieces and start afresh. The hearts of the people was ripped out, and the feeling of security was no longer there. People were now fearful of the unknown. Property owners were given the opportunity of buying plots; but because the amount they received as compensation was so meagre they could not afford to buy these plots. Even the people who were better off also struggled. Many had to pay high rentals for their new homes.

People, who have moved into a middle class area, like, for example, Malabar, may have moved into more respectable houses, suburbs that are neater, better organised, but they lacked that complex vibrancy of communal and diverse city life they had known. Soopiah Muthayan said that people in the new areas are different. They became aloof. So maybe some of that nostalgia is not so much about the harmony of that community, maybe it is just for that vibrancy which was a fuller, richer life they were able to live.

In conclusion, this chapter winds up the discussion about South End as a community. I provided the reader with a brief geography of South End. I then discussed theories of geography identity and community. Furthermore, I drew on themes such as education, places of worship; sport and recreation. I concluded the chapter by focusing on economy, politics and forced removals. The chapter that follows is entitled 'Self and Community'. The emphasis will be on how the individual identity is constituted in relation to community and how the individual assumes complex subject positions, including the writer of this thesis as subject.

CHAPTER 4

SELF AND COMMUNITY: IDENTITY

No man is an Island, entire of itself

John Donne (Meditation XVII)

The self exists in and through social life, and social life exists through the association of selves.

Barry R. Schlenker (1980)

South End was not only a place it is more about the people, the harmony, the different religious groups and the togetherness of the different people and the total respect one had for each other ... The communities are not like they are today. They have become aloof.

Soopiah Muthayan (Former resident of “old” South End)

This chapter will look at the question of identity, how the individual identity is constituted in relation to community and how the individual assumes complex subject positions. Let us now consider what the concept identity means. The term is a wide concept and generally means the understanding of oneself as an individual. Burke and Stets (2009:3) describe identity as

[T]he set of meanings that define who one is, when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person.

Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets (2009:3) further elaborate on the concept of identity by giving an example:

Individuals have meanings that they apply to themselves when they are a student, worker, spouse or parent (these are roles they occupy), when they are a member of a fraternity, when they belong to the Democratic Party, when they are Latino (these are members in particular groups), or when they claim they are outgoing individuals or moral persons (these are personal characteristics that identify themselves as unique persons).

Adrian Poole (2010:12-13) on the other hand explains that the word identity has its origin from Latin and contains the idea of sameness:

The roots of the word 'identity' come from (late) Latin *identitas*. Identity represents the idea of 'sameness' (from *idem*), parallel with the idea of 'likeness' (*similitas*) and of unity.

Poole (2010:13) argues that identity is closely linked to forms of attachments:

In a benign perspective the idea of identity indicates forms of passionate attachment, whether of two persons or many, united by shared beliefs, interests or values. Identity is a powerful magnetizer and divider of 'us' against 'them', especially when annexed to class, gender, ethnicity or nation.

I would like to relate the concept of individualism to that of identity. Identity refers to the unique characteristics of a person, that distinguish his or her from others. Individualism denotes the quality that makes a person different. Thus, there is a fine line between the concepts identity and individualism in the sense that both ideas refer to uniqueness. A person should feel free to demonstrate his/her uniqueness. These character traits, mentioned by Poole and here reference is made to identity, can include a host of meanings. It can include our behaviour, our mannerism and more especially our roles we play in society. In sum Burke and Stets' definition of identity includes the role a person plays in society and the characteristics that a person possesses that make him or her a unique individual. However, these definitions of the notion of identity are categorical and static, and the notions of identity in my opinion encountered in my research revealed it to be rather more fluid and even paradoxical at times.

That we are unique and have special traits cannot be denied, but this road to self-discovery can only be realised through our complex social interactions with other human beings. This implies that there are as many different selves as there are different positions that one holds in society, and thus different groups who respond to the self (Stets & Burke, 2003:132). It implies that we are multiple selves and we enter into and slip out of different situations and engage or disengage with many people on a daily basis. Stets and Burke say that the overall self is organized into multiple parts (identities), each of which is tied to aspects of the social structure. This means that a person has an identity for each role he/she plays in society. Thus the self as father is an identity, self as colleague, self as

husband, self as community leader and other possibilities. The identities are the meanings one has as a group member, as a role holder or as a person. What it means to be a father, a colleague, or a friend forms the content of the identities. But these are not necessarily discrete categories, but can emerge simultaneously.

In the section which follows I will focus on Stuart Hall's perspective on identity, a perspective which is more relevant to my studies. Hall's idea of identity is less static and his conception of it is more fluid and complex. The next segment that deal with theories of self and identity as this forms the core of this chapter.

Theories of self and identity

Let us look at what the concept 'self' means. Psychologists and sociologists often had difficulty in agreeing how to define the 'self'. There is also a lack of a single university accepted definition of the 'self' and many definitions refer to different phenomena (Leary & Tangney, 2003:6). The following is an attempt by Mark R. Leary and June P. Tangney to define the word 'self': The self is a mental capacity that allows an animal to take itself as the object of its own attention and to think concisely about itself. The main ideas in this definition are self experience, self perception and self reflection.

Ivor Goodson and Pat Sikes (2001:41) say that 'self' is a contested and controversial term. They present the argument that when we talk about the self, we are referring to the public, or private, or personal, or professional or spiritual or familial self. They state further that it is difficult to present a comprehensive account and although we try hard to present a unified coherent identity, we are in fact multi-self human beings. This view can be linked with the point raised earlier that individuals assume complex subject positions in a community. Any given individual might be a parent, (and begin life as a child), a spouse, have an occupation, a community worker within a familial and community context. So each subject, each individual is positioned in a complex way in relation to a community.

As mentioned earlier, defining the word 'self' is a complex exercise, but as a point of departure an attempt will be made to describe the concept. Harvie Ferguson (2009:19-20) argues that the concept of self is closely related to the idea of identity. Self, it seems, is just what makes us who we are. Ferguson explains further that self is a relation rather than a simple unity. The self-relation arises in the continuous possibility of becoming aware of

the world as ongoing, past and future potential experience. That is to say, in experiencing the world, we are aware not only of that world in all its richness and complexities but also of ourselves as having, or undergoing that experience.

Barry R. Schlenker (1985:2) says that “self” is an elusive concept and has changed over the ages. This is so because the individual over the ages is exposed to different knowledge, skills and milieu, the media and therefore individuals have to adapt to their society or their community. It is especially the media nowadays which plays an important role in the lives of individuals and people at large. The media referred to here includes the newspaper, the radio and the television. During the years of apartheid, for example the negative representation of people of colour was common and also negative stereotypical themes were favoured by the media. These topics include violence, crime (especially drug-related crimes, theft and corruption), industrial conflict, cultural differences and ‘ethnic’ conflict (Ratele & Duncan, 2003:74). It is as a result of these negative representations of certain groups that people can lose their individuality and self-worth.

Schlenker (1985:1) mentions an important aspect regarding the self. He says that it exists in and through social life, and social life exists through the association of selves. This means that human beings are by nature social beings and that we are constantly engaged in interacting with one another. One can take this a step further by saying that because human beings are interdependent; they are therefore obliged to interact with one another. In South End for example, because most of the residents belonged to the proletariat, individuals were interdependent of one another and they were therefore compelled to communicate with one another.

People are simultaneously individuals and members of society. The individual is either linked to a family or an ethnic or religious group within that community and this gives the person a sense of belonging. For example, a resident of South End who belongs to the Indian community would either belong to the Christian, Hindu or Tamil faith, attend church or temple services and would speak English, Hindi, Tamil or Gujarati. Despite the diversity of culture in South End, there was total respect among the different groups and therefore people did not lose their individuality. The above can be linked with Winniest’s (cited in Ratele & Duncan, 2003) view of the self: the self is perceived as retaining its singularity in spite of changing external and internal factors and the interaction between them.

As mentioned earlier, there are different definitions of self and theorists past and present highlight different aspects of the self. Some emphasise the time and space element of self, other highlight the self as an experience. Ratele and Duncan (2003:152) say that for many theorists, this sense of self extends to the collection of attributes, experiences, thoughts, motivations, attitudes, feelings and behaviours that one identifies as particular to oneself. In other words these theorists highlight the behavioural aspects of the self and its uniqueness, but it also important to view the self in certain contexts. Ratele & Duncan (2003:152) confirm this:

It [self] is equally shaped by those social, cultural, historical and political factors that characterise the contexts within which individuals negotiate their personal and social identities – namely, the sense of that which is unique and that which is shared in the experience of identity.

This study will also view the individual within his/her social, cultural, historical and political contexts. For these factors not only shaped the former residents of South End, but it also changed their destiny, especially the political factors. It was mentioned earlier that self is a multi-faceted being. This study will pay attention to this aspect of the self. Ulric Neisser, a theorist, affirms that the self is not a single, unified entity. Neisser's (cited in Paul John Eakin, 1999:22-23) selves include the following:

The ecological self, the self perceived with respect to the physical environment. The interpersonal self: the self as engaged in immediate unreflective social interaction with another person. The extended self: the self of memory and anticipation, the self existing outside the present moment. The private self: the self of "conscious experiences that are not available to anyone else". The conceptual self: the extremely diverse forms of self-information – social roles, personal traits, theories of body and mind, of subject and person – that posits the self as a category, either explicitly or implicitly.

Eakin (1999:25) says that he is drawn to Neisser's modelling mainly because it does not posit unified self, identifying instead prominent modes of self-information while privileging none of them. Eakin (1999:25) says further that Neisser's model succeeds in highlighting the primary models of experience that contribute to the individual's formation of a sense of self. From the above, one can say that the self is a complex term to define and that there are different views on the topic and each one has its merit.

Thus far I have looked at various perspectives on the self. I would like now to draw on Stuart Hall's theory on the self to guide my study. According to Hall (2007:149) globalisation and the media play an important role in forming and understanding the self. Hall (2007:149) refers to globalisation as the imprinting of the western forms of consumerism, western values, and western ways of life, western liberal democracy and western capitalism. Hall further elaborates that the globalisation project drew people of different cultures together and sometimes in most horrendous ways.

Globalisation also has a dark side. According to Hall (2007:150) it moves people across boundaries; people are displaced by poverty, famine, disease, civil war and are attracted to western countries to seek a better life. In desperation people are forced to work as cheap labourers and in this way become part of the world economy. Globalisation thus indirectly also creates multicultural societies; people with different backgrounds, with different languages, different religions beliefs and different histories are placed together. This conflation of people in turn creates numerous problems; such as religious intolerance, cultural intolerance, exploitation and one group assuming superiority over the other.

Globalisation is not a new phenomenon in world events; in fact Hall implies it is imperialism in a new guise. With reference to South End, globalisation in its old guise also created a conflation of a multicultural community in this area. But it was a multicultural community with a difference; people were more tolerant in terms of language, culture, religion and lifestyle. Imam Jalal echoed this view:

The people respected one another, you know there was no animosity and it was safe you know. When I stayed in Walmer Road, I can remember it was my granny's house, the front was a tailor's shop ... We had to go through a lane to get to the front door. I bet man at night they didn't even lock that's how safe it was.

Julia Parley shared the same opinion:

You don't even realise what nationality you are, because you don't see colour. There was perfect harmony ... we lived nicely together. There were arguments, it is normal, but no fights or not speaking to your neighbour for a whole month or so. We weren't like that.

Hall raises the question: how can people of different cultures live together without being at war with one another or without insisting or imposing one's culture? He states that 'cultural absolutism' (Hall, 2007:151) is the great enemy of this multicultural project. Hall (2007:151) suggests that the living together of people must depend on a trade-off, a conversation and a process of translation. Furthermore, questions such as democracy, equality and difference should also come into play. The question now arises is how does the term self fit in with the concepts culture, identity and the writer as self? These three concepts are interwoven. What is Hall's understanding of the concept self? He believes that the self is fluid and layered and not a fixed category.

Now let us turn the focus to identity which forms inextricably part of the self, the individual. There are multiple views on identity and this includes the cultural view and the social identity view. The cultural view of identity represents the ideas, beliefs and practices of a group or collective. The social identity view on the other hand sees identity as embedded in a social group (Stets & Burke, 2003:133).

Firstly, in my opinion, an individual finds himself/herself in a family and it is in the family that the individual is taught values, norms, beliefs and practices of the religion and culture of the family. When the individual is exposed to the world, then he/she has to distinguish what is acceptable and what is not acceptable. The individual can only make that important decision if he/she has a well maintained value system. In other words an individual will be exposed to different challenges and peer pressures, and his/her value system will enable him/her to make a well informed and rational decision. This view is made in view of Stets and Burke's ideas.

What does the term family mean? Firstly it is not a simple concept and the meaning is something taken for granted. In society the nuclear family is more common than other forms. John Muncie and Roger Sapsford (1997:10) in (eds. John Muncie, Margaret Wetherell, Mary Langan, Rudi Dallos and Allan Cochrane) define the nuclear family as "a small unit derived from the relationship between a man and a woman legally bound together through marriage as husband and wife".

There are also alternative forms of families which include the extended families. This form was common in South End. I come from an extended family and I was provided with love, security, protection and other basic needs. Also common in contemporary society is the

single-parent family where a man or a woman takes the responsibility of parenthood. Same-sex partners and common law partners – which were frowned upon in the past – are becoming a common occurrence in society.

According to Stets and Burke (2003:133) a person is not born with an identity, but it develops through different influences as well as through interaction with other people. Further, development of identity takes place in various stages of a person's life. If, for example, a child is exposed to a certain behaviour, he or she identifies with that behaviour, but as the child matures, then only he/she is able to distinguish whether the behaviour was acceptable or not. Gibson, Swartz and Sandenbergh (2002:74) share the same idea and state that there are many ways of seeing and experiencing the world that depend on our upbringing and beliefs. Having respect for another person's view without losing sight of one's core values can be challenging. It is therefore important to recognise both the differences and similarities between groups of people.

In South End for instance, there was a certain awareness of an identity, and although each group had their own identity and their own values, the residents also shared common values. However, identity was not a major issue; it was something greater than cultural affiliation that was important in South End.

I would now like to discuss Hall's theory of identity and how I am going to apply it. Hall's theory will be used in the context of South End. His view on identity is as follows. Hall states that identity "stands still"; is unified and homogeneous (1997:11). Secondly he states that exposure of the media and the environment play an important role in how people perceive themselves. In addition to this Hall says that "our specific histories" and our very specific languages are ways in which we express ourselves.

I agree with the views of Hall regarding identity; namely that the media and the environment play an important role in our lives. In the South End context the newspaper and the radio were the main forms of mass communication. This form of communication was bias, slanted and written from a certain perspective. However, in some instances the South End environment was contrary to what the media portrayed. For example, Mrs Eileen Wilson and Julia Parley explained that the people of South End looked beyond colour.

There is also the innate tendency in human beings to want to belong, to identify with some group. Hoffman (1998:36) claims that the human psyche apparently cannot exist without identification. She adds that

We initially define ourselves by our similarities and connections with others, by feeling that we are part of a family, tribe, group, nation. And, in our more primitive psychic processes, such identifications seem to be almost inevitably accomplished, or at least accompanied, by the strategies of rejection and contrast – by distinguishing an tribe, group, nation from everyone outside. In the naïve view, to be like Us is good, to be Not Us, on the face of it Not Good.

As human beings we thus want to be connected to a group and Hoffman argues that on the other hand we have a tendency to distinguish ourselves from other groups.

South End's success in terms of racial relationships was partly due to the fact that most people were poor (mentioned earlier), they were on the same economic stratum, less aware of their status, less materialistic, displayed a genuineness to help others and people listened to and engaged with one another. Williams (2010: Introduction) attests to this camaraderie which existed in South End:

I was led into thinking of paying tribute to what to me was my real South End – its people – regardless of their “perceived” race. It is important to emphasise the cosmopolitan nature of the South Enders who lived together in a harmony of which, even now, we can be proud. coloured, Chinese, Indian, St. Helenian immigrants, white folk – we were a community which continues to fill me with pride. No emphasis can be placed on any one sector – we South Enders were a family, each ready to help the other.

Without these men and women from so many and varying backgrounds, there would have been no South End – no spirit, no camaraderie! Wealth and status played no part in the South Enders lives – we were a people at one – a community of shared emotions.

We glimpse in this extract that while there is mentioned made of the main groups that inhabited South End, no reference is made to South African blacks.

Williams explains how life was in South End in his poem entitled 'Of a place where I lived' (Williams, 2010:9):

With saddened eyes and even tears
I tread my Memory Lane
Through alleyways and through the years
In Old South End

No Group Areas Act
To shadow our lives
We were so happy then
In Old South End

Narrow streets, wood iron homes,
Candles a way of life
But we were happy as we lived
In Old South End

We lived together
We played together
In a harmony of its own
In Old South End

Many were poor
Few were rich
But, that did not count
In Old South End

'Twas all as if
One family lived
In peace and understanding
In Old South End

No matter who you were
No matter where you came from
You were one of us
In Old South End

In his poem Williams reminisces and gives us insight about the 'good old days' in South End, the camaraderie, the harmony and unity there was no discrimination, they were all on the same economic stratum but, the narrative voice claims, that the implementation of the Group Areas Act destroyed everything. Boym (2001:8) argues that nostalgia appears to be longing for a place, but it is actually a yearning for a different time. Nostalgia is clearly evident in Williams' poem and this is marked by phrases such as 'We lived together/We played together' and words like 'memory lane', 'happy harmony' and 'peace and understanding'. It is natural for one to

experience nostalgia; however this overt idealisation and hankering of the past can cloud one perception and the way in which one recounts the past.

Each person looks upon the world through his own, unique window. Each person experiences reality in a different way. Throughout life a person is confronted by questions such as “What am I?” “Who am I?” and “How do I fit in with the people and the world around me?” Lily Gerde’s, *et al.* (1988:84) claim about identity can be connected with the above questions. They state that: “identity” consists of three aspects which are interdependent. These are the public identity which refers to one’s social roles and position in society; the personal identity which refers to the way in which a person is continuous, of being the same person throughout life and different situations; and the individual identity which refers to a person’s sense of uniqueness or individuality.

In order to connect the topic of identity, with the individual and the community of South End, it is important to note that the individuals of South End belonged to a diverse community. Despite the diversity the residents of South End co-existed peacefully with one another, respecting one others’ culture, language and way of life. Thus it was easy for people to connect, namely because there existed a spirit of sharing and caring and a spirit of belonging and a spirit of togetherness and mutual respect. This was all made possible by the foundation of respect which was one of the cornerstones of the community. The notion of respect was not unique to South End, it was also prevalent in other areas in Port Elizabeth such as Fairview, Salisbury Park and North End.

This respect that was prevalent in South End, was verified by Mrs Maureen van Staden for instance when a funeral procession goes passed, people would acknowledge by standing still, take off their hats and waiting for the procession to pass. There were other examples of respect, for instance children would stand up in a bus to allow adults to sit; an adult could reprimand any child and children were told to greet adults, even if they don’t know them.

At this stage it is important to look at Hall’s understanding of the concept identity. Hall (1998:6) describes identities as points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us. What Hall is actually saying is that we speak from a certain position and from our own experience. Hall (cited in J. Rutherford, 1990:222) elaborates on this idea: “We all write and speak from a particular place and

time, from a history and a culture which is specific. What we say is always ‘in context’ positioned”.

From the above discussion, one gathers that a person’s history, culture, lifestyle and identity play a pivotal role in the way one perceives oneself and in the way one perceives one’s world..

My position as a biographer is a complex one. As previously mentioned I was born and grew up in South End. This has a direct bearing on my perception of South End, its residents; my subjects; my subjectivity; my memory and the way I present my writing. Nostalgia (mine and that of the subjects) also comes into play, as this can cloud my presentation of facts. Another challenge that presented itself was that although I am writing a biography, I find myself at times crossing boundaries. I will now focus on theories of communities in the next section

Theories of community

The focus now shifts to the concept community to what is a typical community and what constitutes a good community. The word community is derived from the Latin word *communis*, which means common. Irwin Saunders (1966:26) defines community as:

a territorially organized system coextensive with a settlement pattern in which (1) an effective communication network operates, (2) people share common facilities and services distributed within this settlement pattern and (3) people develop a psychological identification with the “Locality symbol” (the name)

Arthur Morgan (1957:8) says that the word community is used in two senses: as a quality of society and as the name of a particular kind of local population group. There are a number of theories with regard to community. Firstly there is the theory of Ferdinand Tönnies, (cited in Lyon, 1987:7) which can be regarded as the foundation for many of the other theories that followed. Tönnies looked at and contrasted the types of human relationships that appeared in typical extended families and rural villages (*Gemeinschaft*)⁶⁷ with those found in modern, capitalist states (*Gesellschaft*).⁶⁸ *Gemeinschaft* like

⁶⁷ The word *Gemeinschaft* refers to a community.

⁶⁸ *Gesellschaft* means bond or relationship.

relationships are based on a natural will (Wesenville) that includes sentiment, coalition, and common bonds as governing focus (Lyon, 1987:7). The basis for this will either be the family or soil (living and working in the same environment). *Gemeinschaft* is characterized by a strong identification with the community, emotionalism, traditionalism and holistic conceptions of other members of the community (i.e. viewing another as a total person rather than only a segment of his status or viewing a person as significant in her/his own right rather than as a means to an end) (Lyon, 1987:7).

The *Gesellschaft*-like relationships on the other hand are based on a rational will that includes rationality, individualism and emotional disengagement as key elements (Lyon, 1987:7). *Gesellschaft* is identified by little or no identification with the community, non-traditionalism, and emotional neutrality. *Gesellschaft* is thus the opposite of *Gemeinschaft*. The *Gemeinschaft* in my opinion would be the ideal relationship within a community and the South End community fits in this category. There was that measure of strong bond with the community (community engagement), traditionalism, holistic conception and emotional engagement.

What is a typical community? The two most basic social units are the family and the community. Most sociologists agree that if one destroys a family, it would affect the community. Arthur Morgan (1957:13) says that a family is an invaluable and necessary institution, that one should not destroy it, but realise its possibilities for excellence. The same is true of the community that it should also fulfil its possibilities (Morgan, 1957:13).

Let us now consider the following: What are the characteristics of a good community? Morgan (1957:56) says that for the achievements of the best social units in communities there should be:

First, the necessary research and other inquiry to find what community and other living conditions and characteristics are most desirable; second, education in social living conditions and other elements of social organization, so that people generally shall be aware of what the values are, and shall have intelligent desire to achieve them; and third, that there shall be developed the necessary skill and habit of actually bringing to pass the desirable conditions.

There are different views of what constitutes a good community. Lyon (1987:234) suggests that there are six components that people would include as necessary for a good

community: (1) public safety, (2) a strong economy, (3) health care, (4) educational opportunities, (5) a clean, healthy natural environment, (6) and an optimum population size. These basic components are not only necessary, but they are also measurable. We can thus assess the contributions communities make to life quality for those six components, determine what communities offer the best opportunity for achieving high levels and how our own community compares with others (Lyon, 1987:244).

How can South End be measured in terms of the six components mentioned above? Most of the interviewees (subjects) are of the opinion that South End was a fairly well-balanced area. The area was a safe place; one could walk late at night and nobody would harm one. Where the economy and health care were concerned: South End had a number of shops, factories well-equipped clinics and other small businesses and these not only catered for the needs of the people but also provided them with jobs. The schools in the area catered for the educational needs and learners were taught not only basic education, but also discipline and work ethics (Raymond Uren, former principal and sport administrator).

A community should not only be measured on the grounds of the above components, but also aspects such as respect, tolerance, equality, social interaction, and communal fraternity. These qualities were prevalent among the people of South End, despite the restriction placed on them by the socio-political system, which did not allow them to explore their full potential. This is evident in Muthayan's (26/07/2007) report on job reservation where he was barred from following a career in pharmacy.

The subjects (interviewees) and how they were positioned in a complex way in relation to that specific South End community will now be considered. The complexity arises from the fact that South End was a heterogeneous community, with different religions, ethnicities and languages and that makes it different from today's suburbs.

Who are these former residents of South End? As already mentioned in Chapter 1 they came from a cross-section of the community of old South End and I have included not only the educated group, but also the ordinary person in the street. These subjects held different jobs, played different roles in the community, and they lived in different parts of South End. They also fall in different age groups, they belong to different cultures, language and religious groups and their circumstances are also different. As individuals

the residents form an integral part of the community, through social interaction. It is through these interactions that these members find common ground.

Institutions of social organisation

Four themes, namely religion, education, sport and recreation, have been chosen to investigate the community of South End. These are key areas in which individuals participated in the community. It is around these activities that they become part of communal activity. Firstly, I will discuss the importance of religion in that community. Religion was fundamental to the success of community life in South End. No matter which religious group a person belongs to, people were always aware of the importance of spiritual values. In the case of the Muslims there were two mosques and madrassahs in Burness Street, Pier Street and Sprigg Street, where classes were held. In these classes, which were held after school, the basic tenets of Islam were taught and also Quran reading. These madrassah teachers were very strict, but loving and caring as related by Mr Saliem Davids:

Hy [Imam Armien Connelly] was my eerste 'ustaath'⁶⁹ en daarna het ek gegaan na Hadjie⁷⁰ Maan [Abduragmaan], hy was die broer van my skoonmoeder ... Hy het 'n skool gehad in Cokney se plek [Cokney Moslem League – Moslem Public School] Burness Street ... In my oë was Hadjie Maan ook maar 'n kwaai man, ek was ook lekker bang vir hom.

He [Imam Armien Connelly] was my first 'ustaath' and thereafter I went to Hadjie Maan [Abduragmaan], he was the brother of my mother-in-law ... He had a school in Cockney place [Cokney Moslem League – Moslem Public School] Burness Street ... In my opinion, he was a strict man, I was very afraid of him.

Teachers were strict in those days because they wanted to discipline pupils and show that they were serious in what they are teaching. The aim was also to inculcate Islamic values in the child. Mr Moegamat Agherdien, a former principal of Dower Primary, recalls Sheikh Effendi who taught him as a child. Agherdien says the sheikh was very strict; he

⁶⁹ Ustaath is the Arabic word for teacher.

⁷⁰ A Muslim who has been to Mecca as a pilgrim.

would hit them with a cane on their bare sole of their feet. He adds that Sheikh Effendi was a good teacher.

In the Christian schools there was a great amount of attention given to the 'Band of Hope' which was a Temperance Society, the Sunday School, the choir and the Boys Brigade (George, 2009). In the Hindu schools attention was also paid to religion. Basically there was a lack of religious friction, there was tolerance of religious values, there was respect and a feeling of dignity and pride in every individual no matter to what religious group you belong (George, 2009). It was the church which organized social events such as concerts, bazaars, plays and cake sales. The activities were not only held to raise funds but were also used to attract the youth and to inculcate their specific religious values.

Education was of significance in South End because it gave the pupils the opportunity to mix with other pupils of different race, colour and creed. The mission school system laid the foundation for education in South End and this was conducted by teachers who were also members of the congregation. One would find in some cases that the Sunday school teacher would also be the secular teacher. Basically the importance of education is that it had a religious base and it played an important role in the inculcation of values. Furthermore, respect was one of the preconditions of education, inside and outside the school. Mr Leo Davis recalls that discipline and respect played integral part in their school's rules:

Grey is a very good school and you are given lots of opportunities to express yourself ... the teachers were very strict ... and I think it was a very colonial sort of background at Grey High School and as such shall we say, they made sure that we towed the line. And if we didn't, we got very quickly pulled into line ... The bottom line is that Grey has a strict code of conduct, there's no doubt about that.

Respect occurs when one person treats another person's behaviours, thoughts, feelings and opinions as valuable. If I respect a certain person, I will be more likely to listen to what they have to say, to try to spend time with them, to build our relationship and to talk about that person in a positive terms. Therefore, respect is to value another person.

Sincere respect is not necessarily produced by discipline. Suppose a father instructs a child to respect him. The child may respect the fact that the father is bigger and stronger than him and can easily cause the child harm, therefore the child responds by supplying the

behaviour the father wishes to see (an appearance of being respectful), but in actual fact the child is acting out of a sense of self-preservation and not true respect.

Discipline usually comes with authority. I will have no cause to listen to someone trying to discipline me who does not hold some position of authority over me. However, there are some exceptions. If a child reprimands me, an adult, for the way I behaved, I might accept being disciplined out of respect for human decency or the desire to be seen as a good role model.

Mr Raymond Uren, a former pupil at St Thomas High School, relates that the nuns were very strict and he values what Sister Louise Bertrand has instilled in him: discipline and work ethics. Mr Soopiah Muthayan remembered that his principal at Hindu Primary, taught him the value of tolerance:

and there was Mr G.K. Nulliah, who was our principal, but he also taught us ... all the religions, some of the Indian Saints, Islam, Christianity in his own little way he introduced us. And therefore I still had that bit of knowledge of the different religions which he inculcated.

Imam Jalal who was a pupil at Dower Primary said that his teachers laid a solid foundation.

It was a good school, good teachers. The principal was Mrs Rawnsley. Some of the teachers there were Miss Stacey, Miss Nurick, she was Jewish, Miss Griffin, there was a coloured gentleman there by the name of Mr Stanley Hendricks ... So I must say that the grounding was good ... it was good from the English teachers. I suppose that had an impact on me regarding the English language.

All the above interviewees were in agreement that discipline played an integral part of their daily school programme and respect was regarded as a core value. Hall argues that in contemporary society values are gradually discarded, as communities have adopted western values and in the process have become permissive societies. The point I want to raise here is that values have changed people have adopted a western lifestyle and are influenced by the media.

Then there was also lived at Dower Primary where I did Grades 1 and 2. My Grade 1 teacher Ms Dennis, was a real 'Mother Theresa', kind and lovingly with all the patience in

the world. Ms Lillah my Grade 2 teacher, on the other hand was a strict, but loving person. It was at Dower Primary where I was taught the basic values and their instructions still remains with me to this day. My two years at Dower were valuable to me and I was happy there, mainly because most of the teachers were from South End, my sister, brother and cousins were with me at the same school. I made long-lasting friends and I found schoolwork challenging. Most of the teachers were also friendly and helpful, however, our principal, Mr. M. Agherdien, was very strict. He probably was less strict than the teachers at the English schools described by Charles Dickens and George Orwell. He was a good motivator, especially when it comes to sport. Mr Agherdien was an avid sportsman, he was selected for the South African coloured Rugby team, represented Eastern Province in baseball and later coached rugby, soccer, life-saving, cricket, softball and baseball. At present he is still a fitness fanatic and at the age of 87 he still goes to gym on a regular basis. Most of the pupils who attended Dower were from the same socio-economic working class; this made children felt comfortable with one another. Despite the poverty, there were those who excelled at school and many became teachers, doctors, pharmacists, academics, artisans. Those who did not excel ended up working mainly in factories.

Maureen van Staden recollects her years as a teacher at Sacred Heart Primary: she remembers the dedication of the nuns, they always encouraged the learners, and they would always do house visits and were active in the community. She admires them for the hours they gave to educate the pupils and sacrifices they made as they were away from their friends and families in Ireland. They thus played an important role to help the child to adulthood and to inculcate good values. The nuns were also good role models for the learners.

Education, especially in that type of community, that lacks the privileges of the middle class, becomes very important. It is their way of getting ahead, on the one hand and on the other hand we can also say that there were not many families where the children were forced to go to school. It still happens today particularly in the working class environment, school is not a priority. It is a priority that the child goes off to work to support the family.

A further factor influencing the importance of education is that if education is absent, there will not be the inculcation of a value system. Education must always be holistic, it must be a total education and you cannot take one aspect and deny the educated mentally,

religiously, physically, morally, socially, academically and emotionally. If any of these are absent, the child will have a skewed education.

In South End the aim of education was the same as above, that is to educate the child in his/her totality. The school also taught children tolerance. The pupils of both language groups namely English and Afrikaans and of diverse cultural backgrounds attended the same schools, so that the schools were totally integrated. This created the ideal milieu for cultural and religious tolerance, which was characteristic of old South End.

Morgan (1957:127) says that Education should have practical value in life:

It is my hope that in the community of the future childhood and youth will have far greater freedom so far as regimentation of hours and days and weeks is concerned. Growing boys and girls should have much greater freedom to be out of doors, and to be working at home and at what the people of the community work at. Then they should be under a far stronger discipline than now in the cultural tradition of community living – in considerateness, courtesy, integrity, courage, stamina, responsibility and good will. This discipline will come, not often by learning rules and being punished for infractions, but by participating intimately and for a considerable part of the time in the life of a community where those traits prevail.

As mentioned earlier the schools were controlled by the churches, especially non-white schools. The Nationalist Government saw some of the churches especially the Anglican Church as a threat (George, 2009). The government shirked their responsibility when it came to non-white education; they only subsidized the salaries of these teachers. In 1955 the Nationalist Government passed the Bantu Education Act, which brought an end to churches involvement in black education. In 1963, by virtue of the coloured Education Act, involvement of the church in coloured education was brought to an end. The involvement of the churches in the schools resulted in a malaise. The rich heritage that was brought about by the involvement of the church in education was brought to an end. All the schools thus became state schools and the main aim of this change was to implement government policy in the schools (George, 2009). When this transformation in education took place the non-whites received the short end of the stick. They had to endure wicked discrimination, low quality education; inadequate facilities and classrooms were overcrowded (Du Pré, 1994:111).

Aside from education sport also played a significant role in the process of socialisation. People from the various parts of South End and from the different cultural groups could mix freely on an informal basis. It was in the area of sport that even white children who were separated from the other children of colour by legislation, mixed freely. Sport was an important vehicle and it strengthened the relationship between the various groups in South End.

Cricket was also very popular and some of the clubs were Victorians, South End United, Ottomans, Hamediahs. Agherdien, *et al.* (1997:53) say that fans and players were loyal to a specific club:

Matches were accompanied by the serving of tea by the female supporters. There was great loyalty to specific clubs. A player would start in the junior divisions and would rise through the divisions, and eventually retire, all the while remaining with the same club. Home ground advantage in cricket was treated with enthusiasm. The home club was responsible for rolling the pitch, and the carrying of the 'carpet' to the grounds, where a mat had to be laid on a gravel pitch.

It was mentioned earlier that sport brought people together; there was tolerance, harmony and acceptance. This is reflected in the interview with Mr Bailey:

I was that way, when I was young I could mix. We grew up together, played cricket together. When I got older, I played for Morning Stars. When we played and go on the field, we go as eleven players. We didn't say you're an Indian, you're a Moslem ... I played with guys like Nagan Umley, Tappo Bandsa and the Muslim guys were Salie Madatt, Karriem Madatt, Waghied Bles.

These institutions, schools and sports bodies were forms of identification, for example, family members would play for the same club, matches played, turned out to be a family occasion and family members would play for the same club from one generation to the next. Saliem Davids confirmed that some family members would play for the same club:

My familie was sportmense. Ek het twee boeties [ouer broers], Boeta Hashiem and Boeta Aliwie, hulle was ook rugbyspelers. My pa was 'n rugbyspeler, so natuurlik het ek ook rugby gespeel. Ek het rugby gespeel vir P.E. Lads en

krieket vir Ottomans. Op die ouderdom van 19 jaar was ek kaptein van die eerste span van Ottomans.

Ek het begin by Boeta Gakie Agherdien in die Junior Lads (Rugby) ... Ek was kaptein van amper al die spanne van Lads onder 13, onder 16 en onder 19 ... in die onder 19 span was daar spelers soos Yunus Agherdien, Noorie Sataar, Dartie Beckett, Armien Ortell, Majied Savahl ...

In die kriketspan het ek gespeel met my Boeta Aliwie, Armien Samuels, Iebie Savahl, Kippie Savahl, en my mentor daar was Boeta Giem Abrahams. Maar my 'idol' in rugby en krieket was Ernie de Kock. Hy was my rolmodel ... vir my was hy die beste ... ek was 'privileged' om saam hom to speel.

[My family were sport people. I had two older brothers, Boeta Hashiem and Boeta Aliwie, they were also rugby players. My father was a rugby player, so naturally I also played rugby. I played rugby for P.E. Lads and cricket for Ottomans. I was captain of the first team of Ottomans at the age of 19. I started with Boeta Gakie Agherdien in the Junior Lads (Rugby) ... I was captain of almost all the teams of Lads, under 13, under 16, and under 19 ... there were players like Yunus Agherdien, Noorie Sataar, Dartie Beckett, Armien Ortell, Majied Savahl in the under 19 team ... In the cricket team I played with players like my Boeta Aliwie, Armien Samuels, Iebie Savahl, Kippie Savahl, and my mentor was Boeta Giem Abrahams. But my idol in rugby and cricket was Ernie de Kock. He was my rolemodel ... for me he was the best ... I was privileged to have played with him.]

The same goes for schools where the grandson would attend the same school as his grandfather. But these institutions also created forms of separation, forms of difference. There were some organisations that separated themselves from one another, along ethnic lines. Mr Bailey recalls that the Eastern Province Soccer Union would judge people on their physical features:

I forgot the issue about the segregation, they had in the soccer ... The soccer union was first formed as an independent and then they had no alternative to change it to the Eastern Province Coloured Soccer [Board]. But the constitution was there, that they didn't allow these other groups [Indians and Malays] to play ... We could never win it, because of the opposition in the union meeting. I would say it is a clique, we couldn't break that clique. They would let you come from a hall ... to be passed out. And there's a certain room ... as you come out they [the officials] scrutinize you, judge you on your physical features ...

Self-imposed segregated sport reigned supreme until at least the late 1950s. Mr Bailey's recollection indicates that there also was racism or at least social ostracism. This also shows there was not always the much talked about harmony in South End. This form of separation and segregation also took place at some schools. Mrs M. Williams remembers her experience as a pupil at St Peter's Primary School:

you see my father was Chinese. They sort of held it against us, because we weren't as they called coloured and we weren't white. We were in-between. And it was very difficult you know. Until I established myself there as a pupil and they found what type of pupil I was. And then the principal there [Father Alfred Paddy], was also the priest, took great interest in me, because he saw that I was eager to learn.

There were also distinct differences where the white people are concerned. Since the apartheid government forced legislated differences, whites had their own schools, religious bodies, churches as well as sport clubs. In cricket you had the Pirates Cricket Club and later on the Victoria Old Boys Cricket Club. These were clubs that catered for the needs of white sportsmen. In soccer it was Walmer Celtic and they had their own soccer fields. Where religion and education are concerned they also had their own institutions which were exclusively for whites. The Pier Street Methodist Church and the Dutch Reformed Church were all-white congregations.

Besides, soccer, rugby and cricket there was also men's hockey and women's hockey in South End. Matches were played on the Schaefer ground. The men's teams include St Peter's, Paladins and Olympia and the ladies teams were Paladins, St Peter's and Blackpool. Other codes in South End include tennis, table tennis, angling, softball, baseball and lifesaving and each of these sporting codes produced their own heroes.

Then there was Agmad Essop ('Hanga') who would ply his trade selling peanuts and oranges. He was at V.P. every Saturday, come rain or shine. Also present was Jappie Prince, probably the loudest supporter, cheering his two sons Sidney and Wilfred ('Pappa') who played for Swallows. In sport, players not only learned discipline, and other values, and the skills of the game, but also leadership and administrative skills. Ernest Moodaley (sportsman, sport administrator, trustee (South End Museum and official of the World Cup 2012) recalls that Douglas Williams (Blackpool) taught him these invaluable skills. "The method Williams used was plain, simple, but effective, and even today I still use the same techniques", says

Moodaley. This era (1950s and 1960s) was probably the era of social maturity in South End in terms of sport and education. During this period unity was reached in sport and some of the best sportsmen and sport administrators emerged from South End.

Sport was a safe haven for healthy expression. It was a domain of healthy contestation that kept people from petty crime. Furthermore, sport was a direct outflow of missionary work. In the South End context Father Paddy was a good example of a missionary who introduced and encouraged sport. Sport also encourages people to be useful members of society and it brings joy to the community.

Dancing was very popular in South End. The main venues for dancing were the Oliver Plunkett, Lindstrom and Eldorado Halls. Dances were also held in halls in other areas in Port Elizabeth and these include the Walmer Town Hall, the Feather Market Hall, and the MacSherry Hall. The most favourite dance on the calendar of South End was the Dahlia Ball which was held annually in the Feather Market Hall.

Mr Bailey remembers his dancing sprees in places like the Feather Market Hall and the Oliver Plunkett:

I was very fond of dancing. There was a place in Donkin Street [Richmond Hill], the Mechanic Hall, the Lindstrom Hall, Oliver Plunkett, Feather Market Hall, all places where I used to dance. Because we as a group used to go together to the dance the group of guys who played football. And we don't have to look for partners, because the partners were waiting there. We just came in and at nine o' clock when they start the first quadrille.⁷¹

Recreation on an informal basis played a significant role in the lives of the diverse groups in South End and it laid a solid foundation for establishing good relationships. Children of all races, colours and creeds would be seen frolicking in the streets and open spaces, enjoying themselves with a game of soccer, rugby, cricket, hopscotch, hide-and-seek, bok-bok.⁷²

⁷¹ Quadrille is a square dance performed by four couples (Compact Oxford English Dictionary for Students, 2006:832).

⁷² A children's game when two or three children form a base and others jump on them to make the base collapse.

Photo 30: The spirit of old South End – a ramshackle home on the right, a neat shop on the left and down below, the mosque and the harbour. A game of street football in progress in Rudolph Street in 1965.



Source: *Evening Post* (1965)

Recreation is a necessary and important element in our life and provision should be made for it. Morgan (1957:134) says that there are several values in recreational activities. First it can be an end to itself, and experience in the sheer joy of living. Second, it can be training or activity in the arts of life. Third, it is a chief means of bodily and mental exercise. It is through play (in the case of a child) that we achieve bodily development and it may contribute to mental growth. Recreation is not only a means of relaxing and discovering oneself but it is also a means of socializing with fellow community members. In conclusion it is also an important element of education.

At this point it is necessary to discuss the importance of the four themes namely religion, education, sport and recreation. Firstly, these themes are important mainly because those are the areas in which individuals participate in the community. These four themes are interrelated; they help with the development of the individual. If one of these lack in the development of a child, it will then have serious implication on the growth of the individual. It is on these levels that individuals learn what are acceptable behaviour, tolerance, respect, socialisation, harmony, values, norms, skills and moral standards (principles). In South End these institutions prepared people for life.

It is important at this point to mention that the evidence which was used in this study I relied mainly on interviews, letters, newspaper clippings, photographs, archival material,

poems, church and school brochures, minutes of meetings, material from the internet and journals. Furthermore, I have interviewed people across different professions, from working class through people with skills, trade through to businessmen and people with university education, but also in terms of religion, and to some extent ethnicity. I endeavoured to use a representative sample and from their different subject positions they were able to comment in different ways about these themes and about South End in general.

I would like to conclude this section by saying that religion, education, sport and recreation are important elements in people's lives. It forms an integral part of all communities as it helps the individual in discipline, socialising, character building, and responsibility. It prepares one for the future and gives us directions and purpose in life. All these social activities gradually came to an end when the residents of South End were issued with eviction notices and this marked the demise of a once vibrant, colourful and cosmopolitan community.

The end of self (including the biographer's self and identity), identity and community

After more than a century, the government of the day decreed that people of different colours and cultures could not live together any longer. And so came the Group Areas Act in 1950, which set aside separate residential areas for each population group as provided by the Population Registration Act of 1950. The Group Areas Act aimed at restricting each population group to defined places as far as ownership, occupancy and trading are concerned (Du Pré, 1994:82). Du Pré states further that the ultimate aim of the Act was by establish residential racial purity of shifting groups from one place to another. He says that if one law could be singled out as the one which caused the harm to the non-white in terms of suffering, humiliation and deprivation and about which non-whites still talk with hatred and bitterness then it was the Group Areas Act (No. 41 of 1950). From 1951 according to Field (2001:23) the Government took control of all property transfers and changes of occupancy that runs across racial lines. This also meant by law that owners were not allowed to sell or rent property to non-whites. This system was administered by the Land Tenure Advisory Board (LTAB) which later became the Group Areas Board.

It must be stated that there were a number of individuals and organisations from the white community who opposed the Group Areas Act and forced removals, names that come to

mind are Reverend J.P. Gutch, of St Marks Church, Bishop E.A. Green of the Roman Catholic Church, Rev. B. Woods of the Presbyterian Church, the well-known journalist Christopher Gell, and the anti-apartheid organisation called The Black Sash.⁷³ Gell (19 April 1955) for instance, in his letter to the Editor of the *Evening Post* expressed his dissatisfaction with the silence of some whites on the issue of the Group Areas Act and forced removals. He says that what is “morally wrong can never be politically right (or profitable)”.

The Secretary of The Black Sash, Mr Pledger writes in a similar vein to the Editor (*Eastern Province Herald*, 17 June 1963):

We in The Black Sash, feel that we would like to state our sentiments at the time, regarding the removal of all coloured people from South End ...
The compensation offered to the property owners and businessmen can never cover the actual losses incurred. ...
To us it seems unjust and inhuman in the extreme.

Despite the protest of people from all avenues the City Council (who collaborated with the Nationalist Government) continued to press forward for the expropriation for properties in South End. In a meeting between the City Council and State Committee held on 10 June 1965, Councillor Isherwood (who was in the chair) expressed the sentiment below:

He (Isherwood) said that he could speak on behalf of the Council and state that the move made by the Government to clear the South End area was a most welcome one.

(Municipal Records – Group Areas Act and Ordinance,
File 41/01/9 Part 1 (1965).

A number of protest meetings were held in South End (including the image listed below). People like Dennis Brutus, Bhika Bhaga Ramjee, Ofie Salie, Omar Cassim, Frank Landman and others were always at the forefront of resistance.

⁷³ The Black Sash is an association of dedicated women of all races which opposed segregation (Joyce, 2007:104).

Photo 31: “White, coloured and Moslem women stood for an hour this week round the Mayor’s Garden in silent protest against the declaration of South End, Port Elizabeth, as a white area”



Source: *Eastern Province Herald* September (1963)

The first sign for the South End community that it was earmarked for removal was the proclamation in 1963 which declared South End a Group Area (Agherdien, *et al.* 1997:Introduction). This was followed by two years of anguish and tension while the non-white residents of South End waited for the outcome. Then came the eviction notices ordering residents to move from their homes by a certain date. The eviction notice was likened to a death notice. Agherdien, *et al.* (1997:Introduction) aptly describe the suffering the people of South End had experienced:

The pain, anguish and worry took its toll long before the move was made. Most South Africans who did not undergo this experience will never even begin to understand the consternation in the earmarked communities, nor appreciate the mental and physical anguish that accompanied forced removals. To be thrown out of your home where you and your forefathers have lived all your life was an extremely traumatic experience.

It was not merely about moving people out of the area to another area, churches had to close and church buildings were demolished. Congregation members had to start services in their homes, in community halls or in classrooms. Schools had to close. Ironically for a number of months pupils had to travel to South End as the school were not completed in

the new areas. Sports clubs were affected, members had to find new facilities, with new challenges. Businesses and shops closed down, their proprietors made destitute.

Photo 32: “An unwelcome move” - the Niekerk family one of numerous families that was evicted in Port Elizabeth”.



Source: *Evening Post*, 1964

Maureen van Staden said that when people were evicted she felt angry; and bitter; the government was harsh and ruthless. It was the land they were interested in. She also added that government should have improved and revamped the houses instead of evicting people. Piazis said that it was heartbreaking to see the area (land) lay like that for years, before it was developed. And lastly he said it was the end of an era, it would never be the same:

I was very upset when people had to be shifted to the far end of Gelvandale and Korsten. I remember when I was in Round Table forty years ago, we did a tree planting campaign, and we did that in Durban Road and Stanford Road. And once we planted the trees we had to go to the person of the house, where they planted the tree and asked them please to water the tree occasionally. The one guy, his comment was “Why!” so that when I got this “bleddy” tree to start growing then they’ll kick us out and send us to hell or Uitenhage. So that was a relevant comment.

Julia Parley recalled that they moved to New Brighton, a black township in Port Elizabeth. “Some families were given houses that had no ceilings and the walls were unplastered”, she mentioned. “And there were those who accommodated in tents” she added. The area also lacked infrastructure and was inconveniently located, far from all amenities.

When a former resident of South End, Mr Armien Abrahams (in Agherdien, *et al.* 1997: Appendices) was asked what emotions he had experience at having to leave South End, he answered:

There was a feeling of mixed emotions. I was born there and after forty years, we were uprooted. The community was a close-knit one and we lived in harmony with other races. We were moved to a different environment with people from different areas. Furthermore, we were not moved as a group, thus, we did not have the same neighbours. It was difficult to explain apartheid to the children. Whites had all the opportunities and there was nothing for us. ... we were really a League of Nations in South End. It was an evil thing to move people, because the Group Areas Act broke up families. South End was a safe area, there was no gangsters, murders, rape cases, etc.

When asked if he wanted to go back to South End, Mr Abrahams replied:

No never! One can relive the past, but one can never go back to the past. You always go down memory lane with old friends. What is there in south End to go back to? Even our children, if they can buy there, they won't go back. Things will never be the same.(Agherdien, et al. 1997:Appendices).

Photo 33: South End in the process of being demolished



Source: Bob Binnell collection (1972)

One notices that the forced removals were a painful experience. What comes through clearly is the sense of loss which was experienced and the bond which existed that was destroyed by the apartheid government. Most residents, after the removals no longer felt affinity to South End as friends, family, neighbours no longer lived there and the vibrant spirit was destroyed by apartheid. People no longer feel the same about South End as their roots were now in the areas they were forced to move to and these areas now have their own memories.

Mr and Mrs Benjamin, former residents of South End (cited in Agherdien *et al.* 1997:100) also shared the same experiences as Mr Abrahams. When asked how the relocation affected their lives, they replied:

Well we had to adapt ourselves to the situation (Mrs). There were no lights, shopping centres, etc. We did our shopping in town. We were thrown together with bad elements. Now we are used to the conditions here. We started a 'missionary' at Machiu Primary School. We raised funds to build St Mary Magdalene Church. We in Salt Lake are the foundation members of the church. Father Bartlett was the first minister of the church. He was also the last minister of St Peter's Church (in South End).

The above is an indication of the remarkable resilience the people from South End have. They have overcome distress, suffering, and tried their best to rebuild their lives. Despite the odds stacked against them they hold on to their heritage and history. Some former

Muslim and Hindu members still attend religious services at the Pier Street Mosque, Rudolph Street Mosque and Upper Valley Road Temple respectively.

Mr Shun Pillay (cited in Agherdien *et al.* 1997:101) felt differently, when asked if he would have liked to move back to South End:

I would love to have returned to the old South End. It might have been a group of shabby houses but more especially they were homes to us, they housed so many memories. When the bulldozers pulled down those houses they were now eradicating an entire epoch, it is a sad commentary to make ... They said it was urban renewal. They could have allowed us to improve our homes and make funds available to improve it but that was just an excuse.

The big force of urban renewal – what they wanted was our land. It was prime sites and legalized theft by a government who preferred to be Christian in their approach and yet so non-Christian in its actions.

You always felt that South End was your home. And relocation was another reason for not wanting to return to South End. It would be far too expensive ... I do not think many people have the means to go and relocate to the present day South End.

My personal experience of forced removals was also traumatic and my whole pattern of life was disrupted. My family was relocated from a four bedroomed house to a one bedroomed house in Salt Lake. The new area had no school, madressah, mosque, shops, post office, community centre and other amenities. The building of a new primary school was in progress and for six months my brother and I were forced to commute to Dower Primary (our old school) in South End. The forced removals also impacted on my social life and my religious routine. My mother's health suffered as a result of the relocation and she was hospitalised for a few months.

Arthur Nortje, the renowned South African poet of international standing who taught at South End High School, gives an account of his experience of forced removals in his poem "At a Demolition Site" (Klopper, 2000:118):

Chunks of swollen sky gaze
through walls where windows were
lure to your former eye.

Dust billows there among abandoned cobwebs
 the holes yawn wide
 to music of electric drills
 How deep they bore into the idle skeleton.

Weave your way through spectrum crowds:
 bloated daylight watches vaguely.
 These tremors are the city ripples
 accepted without shudder.
 Torpid with suffering my people
 shop in the baasskap markets
 and wend their cattle ways to bus stops.

Nortje describes in the first stanza the merciless destruction of buildings during the forced removals. These buildings were practically erased from our minds. In the first stanza the poet not only creates a picture of an abandoned building, but also gives us insight into the political situation of the country and the division created by apartheid. Nortje describes the harshness of the apartheid system, this is indicative of the symbols he uses such as “swollen sky”, “walls” and “holes yawn wide”. The “walls” suggests and enhances the feeling of division. The “tremors” in the second stanza refers to the force in which “his” people were vacated from the houses. In the last four lines of the poem Nortje explains that the people of colour just accepted with cold resignation and without a fight their homes be demolished.

I concur with Swanson and Harries (Field 2001:79) when they say that “Perceptions and memories slip back and forth between nostalgia for a last golden age free from conflict to the present harsh realities. They also say that these romanticised images obscure the contradiction of areas that were affected by forced removals. South End also had its social problems such as gangsterism⁷⁴ alcohol abuse, dagga abuse, fights and prostitution. “And yes there were also shebeens in South End” Ambrose George recounted. George added there were shebeens in Farie Street, Nelson Street and Walmer Road, The ‘Frikkadel Mansion’. The ‘Frikkadel Mansion’ in South End was reminiscent of Bertha Eastrate’s shebeen on Mark Lane and Lallam’s shebeen (the Night Spot on Beaconfield Road in Clarke’s Hollow in *Dust in my Coffee*. Thomas & Thomas, (2008:78) explains that the shebeen catered for

⁷⁴ The gangsters were more social groups than criminals who robbed and harmed people (A.C. George)

Sailors from all over the world [with] pleasant distractions – drink, dance and social intercourse. They also provided locals a regular respite from the hardships of life and sailors from the world over a friendly, homely place where to relax.

These social problems existed alongside the neighbourliness and community bond. The negative side of South End is seldom remembered in the narrative the residents of South End relate. If one looks at South End as it stands today, with its quiet streets, its luxury designed complexes, its high walls and electric fences, it is hard to imagine that it was once a vibrant and multi-cultural community. The landscape of South End has changed completely, and to many former residents this landscape holds bitter-sweet memories. The sweet memories of neighbourliness, the spirit of caring and sharing, respect and the bitter memories of the forced removals. If we choose to reflect and ponder as to why the government acted as they did and their motives, one cannot fully understand. There were naturally consequences, some many people still feel today. The psychological effects and scars can never be repaired.

In conclusion, the focus of this chapter is the question of identity and how the individual's identity (also the author as subject and his identity) is constituted in relation to community. Also how the individual assumes complex subject positions. The four themes namely education, religion, sport and education were discussed as these are the areas in which individuals participated in the community. This was followed by why these themes were used, the composition of community of South End ; the evidence used in this study, the implications of the destruction of this community and finally where people were displaced. The chapter which follows is entitled, Recovering South End.

CONCLUSION

All acts of memory are to some extent imaginative; we can no longer reconstruct “the full truth” ... of a long and various past.

Eva Hoffman (1998:16)

Language is the privileged medium in which we “make sense” of things, in which meaning is produced and exchanged.

Stuart Hall (1997:1)

This chapter will focus essentially on the discoveries and my interpretation of resource material (in relation to my subject position). I have made in the course of the research, what have been the difficulties in this project, what has the project yielded. I will also reflect on the process of writing this biography and how I presented my own subjectivity in this project.

Outline of this study

The first chapter deals with the question of what constitutes biographical writing and here we are looking specifically at community biography. Initially, I looked briefly at the diverse community of South End and similar areas that were affected by the Group Areas Act and forced removals. Secondly, I stated that in this study a biographical approach will be used rather than a historical approach. The differences and similarities between history and biography were also explored. Moreover, I focused on the origins of biography, new contemporary views on the characteristics of biographical writing, related genres of the novel was discussed. As far as communal biography is concerned, I focused on what it entails, the principles of writing that govern community biography and the two categories of community biography. In addition to this I also looked at South African examples of community biography.

Then I also explored how this biography differs from the traditional biography. Further, I presented a conceptual framework on which the rest of the study will be based the focus was exclusively on three components namely, history, geography and community. I looked specifically at the interrelationship of these components.

Lastly, I presented an overview of the source material I used in this study. The central claim of this chapter is that the ordinary subject also has a story to relate. Thus a revisionist approach was used in reconstructing the biography of the South End community.

Chapter 1 examined what constitutes biographical writing. It dealt with biographical writing in relation to related genres. The study also explored in what ways this biography differed from the form of the classical biography. Lastly, this chapter also focused on a review of literature on community biography.

Historical approaches formed a major part of Chapter 2. This chapter dealt with issues such as what constitutes history and how it is written; a brief history of the settlements of Port Elizabeth and the emergence of South End as a community; and key legislation that affected the community.

Chapter 3 focused on geographical space and more specifically on the relationship between space identity; and space and community. The emphasis is thus on how space is related to social organisation and then the consequences of the destruction of space.

Chapter 4 explored the self and community. It dealt with how this individual identity is constituted in relation to community. One of the claims of this chapter is that South End and other similar areas had a value system that is lacking in our present communities. Julia Parley echoes this by highlighting especially the respect children had for their elders:

The thing with their world today, the children have lost respect, that's all I can say. The children have lost respect, because even sometimes when you go to Greenacres (shopping mall) or some place when you use the bus, a child, your grandchildren's age won't stand up (offer a seat). It wasn't like that in our days, we weren't brought up like that. Things have really changed for the worse. The thing is respect went.

Steps followed in reconstructing the lives of this community

The aim of this thesis was to reconstruct the communal life of South End, through interviews with former residents, photographs, official documents, personal papers, literary writings and other significant material. The research involved several methodologies and

it used (as mentioned previously) personal interviews, archival research and literature survey. The intention was to gather as much information as possible on the historical, social, geographical and cultural content of the life of the community. This material was collated and subjected to the techniques of close textual analysis and critical reading processes.

The main idea was to compile events from the subjects' lives and using primary information to provide directions for examining their lives. The next step was to interpret their lives objectively. Katherine Ramslund (cited in Salwak, 1996:93) on this topic suggests possible themes which will help with coherence and arranging the material:

All biographers must eventually make decisions about the aesthetic coherence and organisation of their material. Otherwise it can become excessively digressive and chaotic. Some sort of theme may come into focus to guide the way the facts are placed in context and that is what I explored.

Themes were exactly what I used in this study which enabled me to arrange and organise my material coherently. The themes I used in this project include religion, education and recreation, as these are the areas in which individuals participate in the community. It is on these levels that individuals learn norms and values and these institutions prepare people for life. Furthermore, I viewed the individual lives (including my own) in their historical, socio-economic, political and cultural context. In addition to this I examined the interrelationship of history, geography, community including the individual in the community. This is a useful approach because it incorporates the individual (the self), the community and its location (place). The question now arises, how useful was it to interpret the interrelationship of history, geography and community of South End.

The usefulness of this interrelated approach is that it is more a realistic view to my study because a community always has a history, it is located in a specific place and the individual forms an integral part of a community. These components are interrelated and form a complete unit. Moreover this approach enabled me to organise and structure my material logically and coherently. History is important in this context, as it gave me insight into the place of origin, culture and lifestyle. I also unpacked the history and development of Port Elizabeth, with specific reference to South End. Lastly, I looked at different theories of history writing and written sources on South End, Port Elizabeth and South Africa. The written sources used in this study have their limitations and are to a

certain degree incomplete, because new information always comes to the fore. Research is never static, but is always dynamic, in other words it is constantly changing and is progressive.

I have also looked at the community in its geographical context, which included the following: Why people moved into a specific place; the relationship between space and community; community and identity; and space in relation to social organisations. Lastly I looked at self and community, and how the individual identity is constituted in relation to community.

Difficulties encountered in this study

What have been the difficulties I have encountered in this project? Let us focus on the sources and start with the interviews. I have endeavoured to interview a cross-section of the community who once lived in South End, but I was unable to interview members of the Portuguese community. I was successful in tracing one of its members; however, the gentleman (Mr Molteno de Faria) was unavailable due to ill health and old age. In a last attempt, I gave the list of questions to his daughter, to conduct the interview on my behalf, but she was unsuccessful. Mrs Diaz, the daughter of Mr De Faria, also explained that she was seven years old when they moved to another area and therefore does not know much about South End and its people. And she said further that the Portuguese was a small community and therefore she was unable to recommend anyone.

It was also a challenge to trace a member of the Greek community. The person whom I interviewed was not from South End, but he frequented the area. The Portuguese and Greek communities were actually in the minority and after the forced removals people were scattered all over Port Elizabeth.

Another problem includes tracing members of the Black community. It should be noted that this group bore the brunt of the apartheid legislation, for instance they were evicted in the early 1950s, long before the other population groups were removed. The following were hindering factors to my studies, the fact that Mr Saliem Davids, one of my interviewees relocated to Cape Town and Mrs Mary Williams, passed away in 2008. These unforeseen factors jeopardized my plans of having follow-up interviews and thus valuable information was lost in the process.

Language was another hindering factor. For example, Julia Parley is Xhosa-speaking and at times was unable to express herself in English. She would switch from English to Afrikaans during the interview. Initially, I targeted Mrs Gusta Parley, the mother (who is in her late eighties), but I discovered that language was a barrier and she was unable to express herself in English or Afrikaans. I had to change my plans by using Julia Parley as an interviewee, instead of her mother. Some of the other interviewees also switched between English and Afrikaans. A problem arises when translating the interview to English, as meaning sometimes changes or is lost.

With regard to the above, Steven Cohen and Lind M. Shires (1988:1) emphasise the importance of language in narrating an event/story. They state that a narrative recounts a story, a series of events in a temporal sequence. Language is an all important tool, as all genres use it as a central premise. It is language which gives meaning to all forms of genre including a biography.

Interpretation is indeed complex, especially when the biographer is one of the interviewees, and this plays an important role in the interviewing process. Factors such as culture, religion, race, ideology, socio-economic backgroup, language preference, play an important role in not only interpreting a text or questions (in the case of interviewee), but also one's view of the world.

During the course of the interviews, I discovered that it is quite difficult to get people to remember accurately and in detail what South End was like. Many of the interviewees tended to romanticise the past, in other words they long for the 'good old days'. It becomes difficult in a biography to acknowledge but also remain critical of the place of nostalgia. Everyone reminisces about the past. Jan Vansina (1985:8) says that memories are essential to a notion of personality and identity. They are the image of oneself one cares to transmit to others. Memory also comes into play. Vansina (1985:8) states that we tend to remember pleasant events and forget unpleasant events:

Events and situations are forgotten when irrelevant or inconvenient. Others are retained or reordered, reshaped or correctly remembered according to the part they play in their mental self-portrait. Parts of such a portrait are too intimate or too contradictory ever to be revealed. Others are private, but depending on mood, can be told to the very near and dear.

Sources and their value

A biographer's task can be daunting and selecting the correct material is thus very important. How does one circumvent or solve that particular problem if the information gathered often contains elements of nostalgia and even my own position as subject with lived experiences? It is probably best to weigh one source with other sources. When construction occurs the historian/biographer should find it necessary to accept less well-defined parts of each source while rejecting and modifying others (D. Henige, 1982:72). Henige adds that in doing this the researcher has the chance to learn something about the origins, intent, and recent fortunes of each group of sources.

Where the Acts of Parliament are concerned, they were written from a white perspective with the intention of marginalising and segregating people of colour. These Acts also benefited whites and people of colour were at the receiving end. How helpful were the Acts in this study? It gave me a perspective how people live and an insight of the political make-up of the country at that time.

The archival material used in this thesis included newspaper articles, letters to the editor, minutes of municipal meetings and official documents. This material shed light on the different regulations and it also gave a perspective on the views of people on issues such as evictions (forced removals) and the rezoning of South End. It also highlighted the plans of the municipality and property developers. Many of the letters were in protest against apartheid legislation.

Personal documents were used in this study and these include letters, diaries (the journal of Arthur Nortje) and photographs. These documents signify personal attachments to relationships in time and place (Roberts, 2002). Roberts states that these materials revive memories and stories, which may intimately connect with self-identity. The documents also reveal the subjects' thoughts, the historical events of that time and the values and beliefs of the individual.

Letters for instance can take many forms and have many purposes. They can be formal and informal. Then there is also private letters which normally provide an account of the individual's experiences and a way of sharing meaning (Roberts, 2002:63). Nortje's journal reveals his thoughts and events in his social and private life. The photographs used

in this study are mainly that of individuals, groups, street scenes, buildings and it helped the readers to visualise the area in general. In this regard, I followed Viljoen's (2013:xxv) example in his biography of Richard Rive, connecting the narrative around a specific image, and placing the photo in a position where it relates to a segment of the text and by doing a close reading of the images that contributes to the main narrative in the text. The use of newspapers formed an integral part of this study and it gave one a perspective of the political and social views of that time. However, during the apartheid era the reports included in this thesis were obviously given from a subjective perspective.

I have used literary sources in this thesis which included the poems of Denis Brutus and Arthur Nortje. Their writings can be regarded as poetry of struggle. Dirk Klopper (2000:xxv, Editor's Preface in *Anatomy of Dark*) asserts that Nortje's poems reveal a tendency to oppose social oppression, and forms of racial oppression. Tosh (2001:67-68) says that literary sources should not be treated as factual reports or carry any authority as historical statements about the periods to which they refer. All creative literature offers insights into the social and intellectual milieu in which the writer lived, and often vivid descriptions of the physical setting as well.

The maps in this project allowed the reader to visualize the geographical layout of Port Elizabeth and South End in particular. Maps provide information, and help to orientate the reader spatially. The minutes of meetings of the local municipality were used to inform the reader what transpired in these gatherings. The meetings centred mainly on the mechanisms of the forced removals. Tosh and Lang (2006:78) say that official documents contain only what was considered to be fit for public consumption and what governments were prepared to reveal. Tosh and Lang add that there is a controlling purpose which may limit, distort or falsify what is said. It is in these forms (official documents) that men and women record their decisions, discussions and sometimes their innermost thought unmindful of the eyes of future historians.

Most of the secondary sources I have used are of a historical nature and written from different perspectives. The historical account of South Africa written by Davenport and Saunders, for example, was written from a liberal white perspective. The historical account of South End by Agherdien, *et al.* (1992) was written from a perspective of those subjects who were previously disadvantaged and marginalised. Comparing the sources, as well as selecting and analysing the source material are important factors.

Further, sources cannot be used for historical reconstruction if it is not reliable. Tosh and Lang (2006:98) says that the intention and prejudices of the writer affects the reliability of the sources' culture-bound assumptions and stereotypes by writers also need careful appraisal (Tosh & Lang, 2006:98). There will always be distortions in writings, as it will seldom convey the full truth. Factors such as prejudice, motive of the writer, the intention of influencing the reader are points to be considered when analyzing secondary sources.

Subjectivity (even my own subjectivity) may at times have no historical value, but on the other hand it can be of historical significance. It depends when it was written, how it was written and the circumstances under which it was written. The culture and personal opinion of the writer are also influencing factors.

Reconstructing the past is a complex exercise because a writer reconstructs it according to the image she/he has. As an example a person who experienced forced removals will be a different reconstruction from the one who never experienced it. The reconstruction by different people from the same community will be divergent. There are thus many conflicting reconstructions. One simply does not have direct access to the past. One does not really have direct access to experience for that matter. It is always interpreted and it is mediated through language. So basically what one does is to translate and interpret the past. Obviously people from different backgrounds, culture, level of education, ideology, will interpret the past differently.

On the point of language, Stuart Hall (1997:1) in the book entitled "Representation" states that language gives meaning to objects and he says:

language is the privileged medium in which we 'make sense' of things; in which meaning is produced and exchanged. Meanings can only be shared through our common success through language. So language is central to meaning and culture and has always been regarded as the key repository of cultural values and meanings.

Hall says further

Language operates as a representational system. In language, we use signs and symbols – whether they are sounds, written words, electronically produced images, musical notes, even objects – to stand for or represent to other people our concepts, ideas and feelings. Language is one of the

meaning through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture. Representation through language is therefore central to the processes by which meaning is produced.

From the above, we notice that language forms an integral part of our life. It does not only form a central part of our everyday socialization and communication, but it also helps us to reconstruct the past, as is the case in this project.

This project of reconstruction is intended as a recovery of the past and should also give direction in the future. The attempt was to put the event in its various contexts, looking at it from different perspectives, including historical and social perspectives. What I have attempted in this study is to merge all the fragments together in a particular way to create a narrative that will illuminate different pieces of knowledge, that may have existed independently and putting it together into a particular pattern. This project endeavoured to present a certain understanding of the past, a more useful, comprehensive holistic, integrated one.

The significance of this study

It may be asked what this project has yielded. One can say that valuable information and perspectives on South End were discovered as a result of this research. This study also allows people to look at the history of South End through a new set of lenses.

How useful is this study for conceptualizing the future and what kind of future does it open up? The chapter heading suggests that I will be looking to the past in order to project the vision of the future. It is also from the past that we can make predictions for the future. We can also learn from past mistakes and hope not to repeat the same mistakes.

My fervent wish is that through this study, a way will be paved for future researchers to further the story of South End, and also to consider a similar biographical model in their research. Possible themes/research questions that can be explored include politics and resistance, why pluralism worked in South End.

The value of archives in De Villiers Street, North End, was also realised during this study, as it houses a wealth of material. Similarly, the institution which hosts a range of archival material on South End is the South End Museum. The museum played a significant role in

adding value to this study. The memorialisation by the South End Museum of the area, contains the memorialisation of the significant role of writers who are connected and concerned with South End, namely Dennis Brutus, Arthur Nortje and Athol Fugard. The exhibitions, educational programmes, archival material and lectures offered by the museum played an important role in recreating and maintaining interest in the life and history of South End.

This study also gave me a deeper insight into the lives of the former residents of South End, especially their way of life, their values and their culture. Forced removals and other apartheid legislations separated people, and this is probably one of the reasons why there is presently a lack of respect for one another's cultures.

Despite the challenges the residents of South End encountered, the area produced a long list of achievers: Sheik Jamiel Jardien (who graduated in Islamic Theology at Al Ahzar University, Egypt); Dr Bahdra Ranchod (a Leyden University graduate, speaker in parliament and later eventually Ambassador in Australia); Ambrose George and Raymond Uren (educators); the Adams family who produced four medical doctors namely, Ganief, Armien, Jamiel and Kalthoem.

If we choose to ponder and examine the story of South End and here specifically we reflect on forced removals and other apartheid laws, we realise that it has affected Port Elizabeth and South End in particular adversely. People were affected in many ways on a social level, economically and psychologically. These laws separated individuals, families, communities, cultures, religious groups and language groups. At the end the affected became culturally deprived and this separation in turn can lead to hatred, suspicion, xenophobia and paranoia.

That the apartheid laws and more specifically the Group Areas Act were harsh and cruel cannot be denied. There were those who want to justify the forced removals, by claiming that some residents of South End now has a house, which they never had before. What about the losses incurred, more especially the emotional and traumatic effects it had on the residents of South End? Many residents preferred to emigrate to countries like Australia, Canada, England and the United States of America than to remain in South Africa under the harsh apartheid laws.

What remains today are only memories. Some call them bitter-sweet memories. I suppose the sweet memories would be the good times people had in South End and the bitter memories would allude to the forced removals, the pain, the pervasive sense of loss and the trauma. In the annals of history, the Group Areas Act and its effect on the non-white residents of South End will remain a shame and indictment on the perpetrators of the Act and those who benefited from it. However, from the cosmopolitan nature of South End in the early years it is clear that all South Africans can live harmonious in a truly non-racial South Africa.

The older residents of South End may still feel embittered since they were deprived of a happy life and only now in the new South Africa can they experience some aspects life as it always should have been. Kenny Rangasamy observed (Thomas & Thomas, 2008) that if we were not free today, the bitterness would persist. The residents can see some of the prospects of a free and equal life which they should have experienced. The youth can only learn from the vicious experiences their parents endured under the apartheid government.

Although the Group Areas Act has achieved the physical movement of people of colour from South End, it seems discriminating legislation never succeeded in obliterating the spirit of South End. The legacy of South End remains in the hearts and minds, and stories, of all those (including myself) who inhabited its streets, churches, temples, mosques and schools.

However, it is time to move on because if one lingers on the unpleasant experiences that happened in the past, then one will not be able to forget the negative emotion. The people of South End stood for peace, forgiveness and neighbourliness and it would be contrary to these ideas if one does not forgive and move on. Hoffman (1998:257) suggests that we “need a public arena in which we can speak not only from and for our particular interest, but as members of a society, from the vantage point of the common good”. We should thus take the best out of the past, as this is a learning experience for the future.

I would like to conclude by quoting from Garrison Keillor (2014:83) on growing up in his hometown Minneapolis-St Paul. His words echo a similar sense of self-awareness about how South End resides in the consciousness of former residents and their stories:

We are not braggarts and blowhards back where we come from. But if you want to know the truth, I feel understood

there. I sit down to lunch with Bill and Bob or my sister and brother whom I've known almost forever, and it's a conversation you can't have with people you met yesterday. You can flash back to 1954 and the island in the river where we used to mess around ... I come home and feel so well understood. I almost don't have to say a word. I was not a good person. I yelled at my children. I neglected my parents. I have offended righteous people. People around here know all this about me, and yet they smile and say hello, and so everyday I feel forgiven. Ask me if it's a good place to live, I don't know – that's real estate talk – but forgiveness and understanding that's a beautiful combination.

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Interview (Personal communication) Former residents of South End

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Mr E. Moodaley

Mr I. Davids

Mrs E. Wilson

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INTERVIEW WITH MR CATO BAILEY

20/07/2006

Give a brief background of yourself?

I was born in South End, at Bullen Street – 57 Bullen Street – and my parents were Frederick Bailey and my mother was Ethel Mabel Bailey. We were [pause] four brothers and two sisters.

Actually, I went to school at St Peters School and in Class A, B, C [Grade 1], we had a teacher by the name of Ms Edwards. Those days, it was mostly white teachers, and the schoolroom was there in Mitchells Street/Walmer Road, Mitchells Street, there was a schoolroom there. As I said, I went in ABC [cough]. As time went on, we were moved to the classroom down at St Peters Church. Actually I was then just passed into Standard six, and I came home from school, and my father said: “Your uncle has phoned here for you, you must go down – there is a job for you”.

In those days, it was depression time, and my father was a lighterman, but never worked every day. He would go down and if the boat was not called that morning, he comes home again. At certain times in the week, he had to work. In those days, a lighterman, there was no harbour boats – the mail boats used to lay out – the Union Castle mail boats – used to lay out the, in the road stead, and then the tug had to pull the cargo to the mail boat, and then the cargo was loaded into the mail boat and later, when that was finished, the tug would bring them back to the jetty again. There were three jetties those days, there was the Dom Pedro jetty, the South jetty, and the North jetty. Today, I think the North jetty is what they call Charl Malan quay. When the breakwater was built, the diver was Mr Hicks, and I think he laid the first stones – the beginning of the breakwater – and Mr Hicks used to live in South End opposite South End High School, on the corner of Mitchell and Burness Street. It was where Ofie Salie lived. I know Ofie personally. I think he became principal of Dower School. I think Ofie married a Joel girl – they used to live in Humewood Road [inaudible] [dog barking].

Anyway, you were talking about the call you received?

I was called my father said: “You have something to eat and go down and hear what your uncle has got to say”. I got down there and the foreman opened the gate and let me in. After a while, he approached me and said: “Your school days are over. You are going to work. You are a working man”. At that stage I was about fifteen, fifteen years old.

Who was your uncle?

My uncle was my father’s brother, his name was John Bailey. His children are Allan and Boney. Boney is also a teacher

He was a good soccer player?

Yes, he played for Fairview Rovers, and then he played for Blackpool. I come from a sporting family, but that was part of our family sports.

What is the name of the company?

Anyway I started the job [inaudible] It was then called Taylor and Rees Liquor Merchants. Ja, so I continued, continued. I finished up when the amalgamation of these companies all got into one group and I went from the one company Taylor and Rees, to John Wynn. From John Wynn we amalgamated to Sedgwicks, and from Sedgwicks we amalgamated to Stellenbosch Farmers Wineries. In all, I did 48 years service. Ja, and I said to the my personnel manager, he said: “You have to go off now”, and I said: “I want to do fifty man”, he said: “No you did enough.” So at 48 years I had to go off. But on the whole run, I would say that the company is still looking well after me.

What was your date of birth?

I was born on the 4th of March 1918: it makes me 88 years old. I am 3 months older than Mandela, because I was born in March, and he was born in August/July. Anyhow [coughs], my hobby was sports, I used to play soccer. From the age of 13 I played for South End United, and as I grew older ... I played from the Juniors right up to the First Division.

Who was your manager and coach?

We did not have a regular coach, it was just said: We practise tonight, and we all turned up, you know. A guy that really took us for training was Alfie Johns. His son was Morris Johns, and eventually he left the Club. I became Secretary, I became delegate, and eventually I had to retire. I am Life President.

And you were with that Club most of your years?

I had to retire when I moved to Fairview. I could not get a place in South End. I was a married man, and I managed to get a place in Fairview. I joined up with Fairview Rovers, and I continued as a delegate for Fairview Rovers, but during the time I was delegate for South End.

I had a chappie with me, a friend, who was my co-delegate, his name was James Gallant. He was an ex Dower [Teachers'] College drop-out, I would say – I used to hammer him a lot – I said: “Your mother spend a lot of money on you, and you just simply dropped out”! Ja he went down and one time I was in Cape Town, and he was in Cape Town, and I got him working as a delivery boy riding with a bicycle. It was pitiful, but he came back after that and him and I fought an issue about the segregation they had in the soccer. They didn't allow, the Constitution didn't allow [background noise] blacks, Indians and Malays. The soccer union was first formed as an independent body and then they had no alternative but to change it to the Eastern Province Coloureds ... but the Constitution was there that they did not allow the others groups to play and this went on time and time. We could never win it, because the opposition in the Union meeting, I will say, to me it was a clique, and we could not break that clique. You don't want me to name [inaudible] Ja, let me tell the story. The clique was then Stanley Hendricks (President), John Scott was Life, Vice-President, [inaudible] ja, ja, his photo is at the Museum, Scottie, Colin March (Secretary), Alec Langford was recorder; I don't know who was the Treasurer, but, anyhow, that was the clique – oh Ronnie Barth – old South End High School teacher. He went to Australia. We are family to the Barths, the Baileys.

What was the reason behind the segregation?

I don't know, man, but actually, my Dad, when he was founder of Swans, he had big fights in the Union meeting, and in that time I think he should have reported this issue about segregation, but they used to let you come from the hall to be passed out. And there is a certain room and all in that room from the different clubs, and the man says: "Swans, let your boys come out and then the boys come out and the official sit here and as you come out, they scrutinise you, they judge you on your hair

And the pencil test? No, it did not go as far as that. [laughter] I also heard that story. The President was Stanley Hendricks's father.

What was his name? Ah, He has the same initials – WS Hendricks, but they used to call him Jimmy – Jimmy Hendricks. He said: "Swans you have a nice lot of boys, except the one boy". My father said: "what is wrong with the boy?" "No, he doesn't seem to fit in with our boys". *His hair was curly* [laughter] His hair – he did not have straight hair. So, my father challenged them and said to them: 'look if that boy, what, if that boy is not good enough to play amongst us ... Do you know who's his father?' Now this particular Mr Alec Langford was a very prominent man in the community. He said: "That is Mr Alec Langford's adopted son!"

The surname is Langford? Yes, Alec. "It is his adopted son, and if Mr Langford saw fit to adopt the boy, I don't see why he is not fit to play among our boys!" They had a nickname for this boy: they used to call him Jack Hawksey [laughter]

Anyhow, I was ... when I was young, I could mix, we grew up together, played cricket together. When I got older, I played for Morning Star and when we play and go on the field we play as 11 players. We did not say: "You're an Indian! you're a Muslim!..." you know. I played with guys like Nagan Umley. When he started his cricket, he came to join Morning Star, Tabu Bansda and other Muslim guys ... Salie Madatt, Cariem Madatt – Cariem was a good fast bowler. He used to work for Lindstrom.

He was a lefthander? Lefthander. He used to work for Lindstrom [inaudible] Ja, and then ... *My grandmother was a Madatt.* Is it? Ja, I think Salie and Cariem were brothers, I

think, ja, Waghied Bless used to play for Swipes and then he eventually came over to Morning Star.

Weren't the Hendricks' twins your contemporaries as well? No! They weren't your contemporaries? You mean the Hendricks brothers, Sadika and Aliwie? No, they were our rivals. They played for Break of Days. And I played for Morning Star and, what else can I say. [Then there was] Aggie Safferdien, we were a crowd, we mixed up well, because when we grew up, our neighbours Muslim [inaudible] ... there were Contell, who was a Spaniard.

Yes, I can remember the Contells. He had quite a few sons the one son Eddie, Noel, I know, Noel his son was my friend. Ja, Eddie. Contell was a Spanish surname? The father was Spanish. They lived next door to us. The Contells, Baileys, and then the Nolly's was an Italian? He also married a coloured woman, and then there was Mr Leeman, he is a Portuguese; he married a South African coloured woman, and next door was Johaardien. They called him Maan Johaardien ... he was the teacher, ja the teacher ... the teacher at the Madressa in Burness Street [Mr Effendi's school]. When Mr Effendi went away – in our days we used to play in the school yard – he gave the school over to the Muslim community. On the corner was Shaam Bardien ... he was a taxi driver. I think his sons run the business Lucky's ... that's right. ... had a sister, what is her name? Farieda, ja, we interviewed her, Ernie, and she lives in Parkside, ja. They grew up, my wife and Farieda.

Can you remember an incident concerning your brothers or sister/parents?

We couldn't have had much contact with my sisters. As they grew up, they married out. This one [pointing to photo] died in Durban, and this one died overseas in England. During the wartime, she got married to an RAF chappie and they went overseas and made their home overseas. My oldest brother, he used to work at the hotel, Palmerston Hotel, and was very fond of deep-sea fishing. That was nothing, that was really in our family. My dad had a boat, and we used to go out. We would go fishing and enjoy ourselves. This brother younger than me, he is in Australia, and he became a skipper. Before he left, he was a trawler skipper – the youngest trawler skipper for I&J [Fisheries] in Cape Town. But what happened to him, he ran away from home, when the boat came in, they tied the boat alongside the jetty, they didn't give the boat enough rope, so if the water push up it was low water ... the water got into the boat. The next morning ... the boat was full of

water. So it was very disappointing, so he knew he was going to be in for a rough time. He ran away by bicycle to Cape Town.

Well, he did very well for himself. When he got married in Cape Town, I went up for his wedding. When he left for Cape Town, I went with a few of my friends. We went up by car. He was going to leave CT the Monday, so we just went there to say goodbye ... What happened to him, he had an accident, when he was the trawler skipper. Coming back to the port, the mist (fog) the trawler went onto the rocks at Mouille Point ... He had to appear before the Naval Officers (the court). He was very much on his nerves, but he managed to get the [boat] off the rocks on its own steam ... there wasn't much damage to the trawler ... when he appeared, he came off very lightly.

Then he bought a house in Brooklyn, a semi-detached house (in Cape Town). Then he renovated the house into one big house. Then he was married and he had three children.

The most heart-sore of this was when the Group Area came and said that, it's a white area. Brooklyn was declared a white area. He said: "I'm not going to bow down to this government." He applied to go to Australia. So he was one of the first to migrate to Australia. Then he went into the fishing game in Australia. He left his family behind ... he sold the house and later the family came over.

What were your first impressions when you started school?

To start school ... was a bit of a thrill ... This teacher, she was called Lucia Edwards, she could handle the children very nice. And as we went up to a higher class, there was another one called Vera De Klerk, but she was a young lady, but married late in years. After she gave up teaching, then only she got married ...

Who was the principal at that time?

The principal was Father Paddy.

What type of person was he?

Uh, very strict, because, I can remember they entered the choir for the Eisteddfod, and I was selected to be in that choir. Now he comes around to your classroom: he wants to put you through a test. He was very strict on singing. And that day, I had a cold and I ... to

his, I wasn't right. "But what's wrong with you? You were quite OK with the other sessions ... you can't be in the Eisteddfod!" I was scrapped out ... but I was too scared to say I had a cold ... he was really strict.

What was the atmosphere like at the school?

Very nice, ja, I had that Scott, John Scott, the weightlifter [He was my] Standard Four teacher. He played soccer for South End: he was the goalkeeper ... he liked sports.

Do you feel you had any special talents?

Man, I wouldn't say as far as soccer [was concerned]. There were very outstanding fellows, those days. There was a goalkeeper – I give his name in for the Hall of Fame at the Museum [South End] – Kallie Snyman. There was a chap; they called him 'Tortoise' Assam, strappy fellow, if you run him, it is like running against a wall. Those days, you can charge a goalkeeper; today, you can't do it. There were many chaps: 'Tortoise' was the next best, but he couldn't get a place in the provincial side. I always feel there were chaps who were in a better class.

I was only selected once [for the provincial side], and I refused to play. South End played Blackpool behind Elizabeth Donkin [Hospital] – there was a ground there. And we played a knock-out final against Blackpool. We had a class centre forward, his name was Toby, Tony Toby, his photo is there in the Museum, Eastern Province. He was an outstanding player ... I scored the first goal, Blackpool scored a goal, then it was 1-1, ... then Toby juggled the ball, then he kicked the ball ... a 'bicycle kick' ... the ball went right into the net. We beat Blackpool 2-1.

In that time, the Indians had a [soccer] union, the Muslims (Malays) had a union, and the coloureds had a union. We use to play board matches. I remember Ali used to be a good player for the Muslims ... And through that match, I was selected to play [for Eastern Province] ... the rest of the coloureds, the League winners, must play the rest, so I was nominated to play against the League winners, then I said, no. My pal also pulled out ...

Why did you pull out?

The reason why, I was a bit hurt, the Muslims against the coloureds.

What were your teachers like in those years?

They were very strict teachers, and if they wanted to cane you they will cane you. It was more discipline, those days. The saying was: ‘Bend the tree while it is young’ ... but today you are not allowed to cane a child. John Scott was our teacher ... teachers were very strict.

What was the sharpest memory of the church you attended?

Well, I wasn’t a church-going guy. In the weekend I used to go fishing [laughing], Every weekend I am out fishing, even when I got married ... I had a fishing pal, Ernie George. We would spend the weekend at Cape Recife ... my brother was so fond of deep-sea fishing, he didn’t like rock fishing and he got me into the game ... we had a good time fishing ...

Who influenced you the most?

... when I was a boy, there was an old man called Pat Connolly ... he had a shop at the bottom of Walmer Road, near Scott Street. So that old man when he comes down to the wicket, he comes whistling. If you see that man bat, he doesn’t run for a single – it is either a four or a six. He was a tall man. And the story was that the whites played the coloureds on the Crusader Ground. Pat Connolly hit the ball from where he was batting right into Park Drive! They said it was a lost ball; but after that match the whites never played the coloureds again! The coloured side were a mixed side, Boomgaard, Pat ... Sharkey George, Bill Matthews, but those were some of the good players.

What were you like as a teenager?

I was very fond of dancing [in the] Feather Market [Hall]. Hey, ja! There was a place in Donkin Street, Mechanics Hall, Lindstrom Hall, Oliver Plunkett – all places where we used to dance. Because we as a group [laughing], we used to go together to the dance, guys who played football [with me] and we don’t have to look for partners, because the partners were waiting there. We just came in and nine o’ clock, when they start the first ‘quadrille’ and ‘Bunny Boer’ [Douglas Williams], he was the leader, and we danced quadrille ... he makes this way then he goes that way ... we four guys: it was myself, Bunny Boer, Mike Hodgkins and Blackie van Sensie ... dancing and fishing were my hobbies.

Was it fun years or difficult years?

No teenage years. I used to have hardships at home, because my two sisters were working for Doctor Zinnefirst. My brother was page boy at Park Hotel, and I was the one who come from school and then said the 'old lady' on Fridays: 'Turn the house out'. I had to polish ... clean the silverware. Monday was the day of washing, socks and handkerchiefs. And that 'old lady' was very strict! I think I was more the 'girl' in the house, because my other brother, the younger brother who is in Australia, I would say he had a 'king's life' but after all what he went through, he made a man of himself.

And did you resent authority? Did you go against your mother's rules?

No, I couldn't ... the thing was we were embarrassed, because there on the kitchen wall, there's home rules written there ...

What were some of the rules?

I can only tell you one rule Abie [my brother] had to do: he had to empty the chamber, [the pee pot], and he went to school and didn't do it. And my mother went, you know where the school was, the 'mission' used to be on the corner of Mitchell Street and Fairie Street ... my mother went to school, fetch him out of school: 'come do your work, you didn't do your work'. She told the teacher: 'I come to fetch him!' ... that was very embarrassing to do a thing like that.

Were there any personal goals you had in life?

You know, actually, I really didn't want to go into the job my uncle wanted me to do. I wanted to become a carpenter. But now considering it's 'depression' time, the old people needed extra income. You know what my wage was? Ten shillings a week!

Was it a lot of money

Well, it was worth ten shillings, because my mother used to deal by Ah Why [Grocer], she would buy her groceries out of that, and that could cover for the week. And, as I said, my dad was a lighterman and its only when the boat ... they call up that morning, the boat's used to go by number ... they call your boat on their number, and he doesn't work he had to come home. But I remember him saying, if the boat doesn't work, then he goes under the poles of the jetty and he knew how to catch crayfish. He put the bait down there, and

the crayfish they come up, and then he grabbed the crayfish. And then he comes home with two crayfish. So crayfish is around a long time.

What is your philosophy in life?

You know the thing of life, I use to often think, the poor Africans, how they use to come, especially on Sunday evening, they come all the way from where they live to keep church on the street corner. And they would stand on this corner and preach and we as children used to stand around. From there, they walked to the next corner and preach again. I always had this thing: the difficult time this people are going through and today it is the reverse ...

What was your philosophy of life?

I wasn't a racist: I could mix with whoever I want.

What was your sharpest memory of South End?

You know, where the Lyons Clothing Factory was in Fairie Street, South End? Before the factory was built, there used to be a big dam there. And we as boys used to go and swim in that dam. And another thing, the railway use to dump all their scrap ... to fill up that hole, they use to call it the tip. And we used to pick up nails.

And when we were youth they allowed us to chop wood in Forest Hill, and those days there weren't electric stoves, we had the and iron [stove] ... we use to go into the forest department with the donkey cart. We used to pay a tickey for a load of wood and put it on the donkey cart.

And your memory of the people?

You could come from the bottom of Walmer Road and you can say: "I am a stranger. I am looking for Mr Bailey. Then they direct you straight away. You go up here, you go through Bullen Street, everybody was well-known.

Was it a close-knit community?

The neighbours were very close ... This is how we grew up: if the little boy [my friend] comes in my mother's house, she gave me a piece of bread; she gave him a piece of bread.

And the whites and coloureds used to mix very well ... we used to play cricket in the street ... there was no animosity amongst us, one had a big respect for the other.

What type of work did most of the people do?

Some were masons, fishermen. The coloured community used to make a living out of fishing ...

Was South End a slum area?

You know, they referred to the bottom of Walmer Road, Scott Street, Rainbow Terrace – they referred to that as a slum area. I can't see why, because it was crowded. There weren't houses for the people, so where you can get a roof over your head, you're going to stay.

And I heard there were blacks living in this part of South End?

We had blacks living in Bullen Street, opposite us, respectable type, you know.

Can you remember their names?

No, I can't remember. The one that lived in Rudolph Street was Zondi. The story was that Zondi used to sell drugs. Drugs were actually dagga.

Was there a class distinction in South End?

Man I wouldn't say ... everybody was so well-known and so close to each other, as I tell you, you can come from the bottom of Walmer Road and they can ask you where Mr So and So lives, and you can say, Oh ja, I know Bailey live up that way. As time went on, the housing problem in South End got worse. I couldn't get a place in South End, and then we moved to Fairview ...

They always used to speak about the good of South End. Was there a bad side?

Well, I know the chaps in my time. I can remember one might coming from the dance, my friend and I. We came to the corner of Nelson Street, and the gang were rolling dice there. We stood and watched this game going on. And here a policeman came down Nelson Street on a bicycle – they used to ride bicycle those days. And they stopped and said there comes Du Preez [the policeman]. He throws his bike one side and the chaps scattered ...

One thing about South End: you could walk [at night], nobody interfere with you.

We were still busy discussing crime – you said there was no real crime in South End?

Actually, I can say people leave their door – because it used to happen with my parents, they never used to lock the door. If you come in late either you find the key by the window, or the door is open ...

How did you feel when you were told to move out?

You see, actually, I had to move around. I lived in Evelyn Street. That property was sold ... later, I managed to get a place in Fairview, and there later the Group (Area) moved me out of Fairview. I know it was very heartbreaking for people who stayed all their lives in South End, who had to move. My brother bought ... in Gelvan Park. There I was in Fairview, it was Forlee's property and Ferreira [government official] came with his motorbike and he said he came to tell me I must move ... he said I must move to the Northern Areas.

How did the move change your life?

Well, actually it was difficult you know, thinking you have to get accustomed to living here ... there was those little hardships attached to it ... especially your work ... you had to start work at six o' clock in the morning, so you had to get up say four, five o' clock in the morning ... there were no facilities at that time ... only later on this row of shops opened up.

How did the removal affect the community?

I tell you, some of the people were very heartbroken to give up their places, especially like this neighbour next door. She tells me she lived in Fairview and her husband [Mr Kerspuy] was building a beautiful big house: he was a mason. The Group Areas [official] came to him and said: 'You got to get out' I don't think he got the valuation of that house. They paid him out ... but I think it is a shock when you know you're building a nice house and here you got to just vacate. I heard of people who were so heartbroken, some of them died ... its heart sore, you know ...

And many people moved overseas?

A lot of people got out of the country. It's like I told you about my brother, who stayed in Cape Town. He said I'm not bowing to this government. He moved out [to Australia], which was a good move he made. Today he is a retired man, he is two years younger than me, he is eighty six.

How did you feel towards the government?

To speak the fact, I can't bear hatred, because at that time, I wasn't a property owner. Today, I am a property owner. So there was good in it and there was bad back in it for other people as well, you understand. I must be fair to say, if it wasn't for the Group Areas, I wouldn't have been a property owner. And other people can say they are heartbroken to give up their places.

My final question: would you like to go back to South End?

Very much you know, I even think when I go to the cemetery in South End then I can picture where our house was in Bullen Street ... I mean it is that people today got the opportunity to live where they want to live ... it will never be the same ... never be the same. You know the community of South End, I can say we were one happy family: whites, coloureds, Malays, Indians ... but we all lived as friends ... There's things I can recall of South End, you'll never get it back again, the old times, the good times, its all gone ... when we came here [Salsonville] we were like strangers.

INTERVIEW WITH MR SALIEM DAVIDS

26/07/2007

Provide a brief background on yourself?

Bismillah hieragmaan nie rayeem (I begin in the name of Allah, the Almighty). Well, I was born and bred in South End. I attended Dower Primary School and then went on to the South End Secondary School - formerly South End Grey. At Dower Primary School, we had White female teachers. I can recall Ms Murick, Ms Griffen, Ms Frazer and then the Principal, Ms Rawnsley, and Ms Stacey. Those were... I mention the few white teachers only. And they have made an impression on me lasting till this day – I can recall them clearly – they made an impression on us: the way in which they taught us. They tried very hard to understand us. We were ignorant in those days; it was just before the apartheid years. We never thought: this is a white teacher and I am a coloured child. But now I wonder whether they did not perhaps think that as we were Coloured children, they had to put in extra effort to understand us. Anyway, I can say that they taught us well; they really tried to understand us and so forth.

Then we had male teachers that I remember well: of course, Mr Salie, Boeta Moegamat Agherdien, then there was Harold Wilson - that was at Dower. Then we also had a very popular woman – many of the Muslims who attended the School will know her: Katie Adams: have you heard of her? She was from Uitenhage. Ms Darling. Ms Le Grange. Those were all the teachers in my life at Dower Primary School.

There I learnt to play rugby; obviously under Boeta Moegamat Agherdien. He began, when we arrived, he introduced rugby. We started as the Under 13s. I can well recall one instance; we were in Mrs Frazer's class for a period, and Boeta Moegamat's class was next door – I think Boeta Moegamat taught Standard 2 in those days – and he sent a child to Mrs Frazer's class and asked that I come to him; he wanted to see me. I then went to him and Boeta Gamat gave me a note and he told me that I should go around to all the children who played rugby for Dower, and I had to record the name of the person that they wanted to be their Captain. I then did this. And when we eventually had a meeting, it transpired that I would be the Captain! Thus it happened – I am not sure of the foregoing years – before the War (Second World War) that I became the first Captain of the Dower Under 13s Team. We were quite successful - we were a good team. In fact, a Springbok

(Coloured Team) was produced from that Team: Armien Ortell. Same with the cricket: Boeta Gamat introduced that sport. And Algamdoelillah (*All praise to Allah*). I also became the Cricket Captain. And then we went on to Standard Four. And subsequently we went to South End Secondary, where I was taught by Mr Petersen. Mr Roberts was the Principal and Mr Myburgh was the Vice-Principal. And there was Mr Baadjies - he was my first teacher in Standard Six. That was more or less my school career. I did not go far - I only went up to Standard 6.

Let us just go back again to Hadjie's (form of respect for somebody who has gone to Mecca) early years. In which year was Boeta Saliem born?

I was born on 28 June 1936; which makes me seventy years old. I was born at 59 Rudolph Street (South End) next to the mosque (Masjidul Abraar), which we call the Rudolph Street Mosque. It was a double-storey building, a double-storey that was whitewashed every year. I was born there and stayed there all my days. And I married Fatima Kahaar in 1965; her Dad was better known as Imam (person who leads the prayers in the mosque) Ballie (Abdul Latif Kahaar). The mother was Galima Kahaar (née Johaardien). I often hear of people who have so much trouble with their mother-in-law and father-in-law, but I have to say, Algamdoelillah, those two people were like my own Dad and Mom. My own Mom and Dad were much older than them. My mother and my father-in-law were in fact born on the same day, the same date: 9/11 (11 September), but my Mom was a full twenty years older than my father-in-law.

And my family were sports lovers. I have two boetas (older brothers): Boeta Hashim and Boeta Aliwie: they were also rugby players. My dad played rugby, so I naturally also played. I played rugby for Lads and cricket for Ottomans. At the age of 19 I was the Captain of the First Team of Ottomans. I started off with Boeta Gakie Agherdien in the Junior Lads...I served as Captain of nearly all the teams in Lads: Under 13s, Under 16s and Under 19s..... in the Under 19s team, there were people like Yunnus Agherdien, Noorie Sataar, Dartie Beckett, Armien Ortell, Majied Savahl... I have a photo of that team... in the cricket team I played with my Boeta Aliwie, Armien Samuels, Iebie Savahl, Kiepie Savahl, and my mentor was Boeta Giem Abrahams. But my idol in rugby and cricket was Ernie De Kock. He was my role model, for me, he was simply the best... I was privileged to have played with him.. he encouraged me a lot on the field. In 1956, when Armien Ortell and I emerged from the Under 19s, the Lads Team went to Cape

Town for a week on an Easter Weekend tour. Ernie withdrew from that team, just to give me a chance to play for the First Team... that was more or less my sporting career.

What did you do after Standard 6? I suppose you were forced to start working?

... I first want to go back to my Slamse school (madressah) years. I passed Standard Six. You actually got a certificate.. and then I went to work for Mobbs (PE) in Kensington. I worked at the Mobbs shoe factory for one year only. I wanted to become a plasterer. That was one ambition I had.. Lima (Galima) Potte - her mom lived across from the Pier Street mosque ... and a chap called Solly Mohamed lived there. Then Sies Lima learnt that his boss was looking for an apprentice. I can remember it so well: I was sitting at the barbers, Saturday morning (the barber was on the corner of Seymour Street and Walmer Road). Armien came running in: “*Mom’s found you a job. You must come now!*” I left the barber without having my hair cut to find out, you know, and then I landed the apprenticeship with McCall Builders... and we were required to work in the day and attend the Technical College of the Muslim Institute (Village Board) at night. We wrote the final exams in the fourth year. Some of the men went to Olifantsfontein, and some went to West Lake in the Cape. I passed out in the Cape. So I am a qualified bricklayer and plasterer. I was approximately 16 years old when I began to work. I often tell the children of today: 16-year-olds are nowadays regarded as children, but we were regarded as adults in those days. We worked shoulder to shoulder with adults and you had to hold your own. Some of the adults would take advantage of us because we were just laaities, and they would bully us. So we were not regarded as children.

In my school “career” some children called me “old smartie” , because I always held the first class position .. I received many gifts - another practice of the White teachers: they always gave one small gifts. Most of the time, books... on the odd occasion, a girl pipped me to the post, but never a boy, until Standard 5. That was Peterson’s class... until the penultimate exams, then Farouk Jappie came first. That was the first time that a boy beat me to first place. I was so disappointed and told myself that that may never happen again. Algamdoelillah (*Praise be to Allah*) those final exams: before Mr Peterson told us who stood first in class, he first spoke. He talked about a child, of work determination, and he referred to the poem *Die Ossewa*. I learnt that in Standard 5 ... I loved poetry. He used the poem as an example. He then asked the class who they thought stood first. One girl who

was sitting at the window raised her hand and said: “Saliem”.. it was I who stood first. That was one of the highlights of my life.

Let’s return to the madressah (years). My first Khalifa teacher when I went to the madressah was Imam Armien (Connolly). He was at the Pier Street Mosque. He held madressah; he was the Imam (religious leader) there. The Pier Street School was next door. In those days, it was fenced off.

A brief description of Imam Armien?

Imam Armien? I was scared of him... but he had a deep affection for me. Why do I say that? He would always do something extra for me or give me something extra. I don’t know why. He was a good friend of my Dads. You know, those days, when people held gajaat (prayer meeting), then they had the ‘malboet’ (announcer). The Imam received large barakat (parcels of cake). ... then he would bring me some of that barakat; he would give it off at the door, he didn’t come in. He was a ‘man amongst men’, and even my Dad had a great respect for him. People really held him in high regard...

How was Imam Armien in stature?

He wasn’t a big man - he was quite slender. His chin was on the long side ...he was not a large man, his hair was already turning grey... he was my first ustaath (madressah teacher) and then I went to Hadjie Maan (Abduragmaan Johaardien). He was the brother of my mother-in-law. He had a school at Cockney Place, Burness Street. I regarded him as a stern man, too ...

Did you feel poor at all?

I did feel poor. My father and mother were not rich people. We grew up poor. In a sense, I did feel poor, but I received everything I wanted. I had a lot of toys as child, and there was enough love in our home – although we did not act like the children of today do with their parents – kissing and cuddling and all those things. When I came first in my class I would bring my report home and tell them that I stood first, then they would say “Slammat!” (congratulations) - and that was that - no big deal. Today, if a child comes 25th in his class, then he expects to be made a big fuss of... They were nearly ‘cold’ towards you, but their love was in their hearts.... Our every need was met. Nothing was too much effort for

my mother. Nothing can beat her cooking as far as I am concerned! My mom was the best cook... we were a large family, and she cooked every day.. when we grew up in 59 Rudolph Street, there was no electricity. We grew up with candles. I loved reading and used to steal a candle for reading at night. My mom never had a fridge in her life, she did not have a washing machine or an electric stove (we had a wood stove). She would stand at the wash-trough and do the washing until she could wash no more.

My Dad, on the other hand, did not have a trade. Many people say that they couldn't talk to their dads.... My dad must have grown tired of me – we always sat on the steps and chatted... he was also a sportsman, and we would discuss different topics. He was not a big man. He was a little heavy-set, but he was a very strong man. That is why I was scared: if he came after me, I would run, man! He could give a good hiding!

What was your boeija's (father's) name?

His name was Ebrahim. The people around there used to call him "Boeta Braima".

And he was also a rugby player?

Yes, he was a rugby player he really loved his rugby.

And he was a lovely person?

I often say that my father was not an educated man. Today, I have a little more education than he had... a little more money than he had ... but I don't have the heart that he had. That man had a heart of gold. He would call people off the street to give them food. In our home, there was always enough food for everybody.

What were your teachers like?

Ofie Salie (one of the teachers) was a brilliant man... he was very active in our community. I had a lot of respect for him... hundreds of children passed through his hands. And as a teacher he was brilliant, because he had the knack of making children understand. He was very clever and he could also easily make you laugh (had a sense of humour).

What can you recall of the masjid (mosque) that you attended?

The Rudolph Street mosque was next door to our house, but for big nights we went to the Pier Street Masjid. At the Rudolph Street mosque was Imam Ofie (Mallick). Sunday evenings there would be a big jamaah (congregation) and a sermon would be delivered. Moulood evenings (birth of the Prophet Mohammed – Peace be upon him) were special.

And in the month of Ramadan?

The sending around of biscuits ...you would see the children going around their errands. I delivered biscuits, too. My siessie (eldest aunt) would send her children from Newtown (area adjacent to South End) to deliver the biscuits. Then I in turn would go (to Newtown). Criss-crossing, up and down, you would see the children walking, with the doily draped over the plate.

What was your impression of the school at which you started (Dower Primary)?

Well, I started at Dower Primary ... in my time, it was the most popular school, especially in our family. There I had good teachers, both male and female. I particularly recall Ms Griffin, a white lady: I think she taught us in Standard One (Grade 3). In that era, a lot of the kids would say: “Teacher favours you.” I think she did favour me a little, because I was her ‘pet’. She used to praise me often, because I did well, I came first in class. She once gave me a nice book for coming first in class. So Dower was a very good school. Among the Muslim teachers there was Mr Salie (Ofie); he was well known, we who are in our seventies and eighties (age group), we were taught by him. Then we had - he came as a young man - Moegamat Agherdien, he introduced sport Then we had Boeta Salie Baderoen, who also came as a young man. The two of them were sportsmen. So they got us to play sport. I remember Boeta Moegamat Agherdien especially with the rugby.. We started as Under Thirteens, and I was Captain of that team... we had black jerseys with a red badge with DPS (Dower Primary School) and black pants. Boeta Salie coached us cricket, there I learnt a lot about cricket. One event that stood out for me was that we as a primary school played against Patterson High School (Schauderville) one year. Well, Boeta Salie was a good bowler. In our league he was an Eastern Province bowler. He then played with us and we were all under thirteen, we played “Hindu Primary” that day. I was bowling and I took a hat trick. I did not even know I had taken a hat trick after I bowled

the third guy – I can recall him well: he was an Indian friend – I took his off-stump and I saw that Boeta Moegamat was getting excited. He put up his hand and said: “this is a hat trick.” There was even a piece in the Evening Post about the pupil who took a hat trick. So Dower was the best school for me.

And the Dower School building was attractive?

The building was a typically English one: English architecture. It was an attractive building, partly stone clad and partly plaster. The date was on the wall in front: I seem to recall it stated 1902. Then it (the school) had three levels; Gardner Street, then we would descend a few steps to a level where the toilets were, and there was a wooden staircase that led up to classrooms, and then there were some more steps leading down to the Love Street level, where there was also a number of classrooms.

Who influenced you most?

I was influenced by different people in the different stages of my life. My hero was Ofie Salie and on the Islam side, it was Sheikh Jamiel (Jardien). He was definitely my hero. And then of course I was very fond of sport. My Boeta Aliwie was my hero in rugby. In cricket and rugby I had another hero, Ernie De Kock. I played scrumhalf, and so did he. I played rugby for Lads, and cricket for Ottomans. Ernie was also with Ottomans. Ernie was one of the people to whom I looked up to. He was definitely my role model.

What did you do in you free time?

I played sports, and did not have a lot of other leisure pursuits... Our holidays those days were spent at the Schoenmakerskop camp site. We would go camping for a stretch of three weeks at a time ... we had wonderful get-togethers... us males would swim in the blue dam at high tide at Schoenmakerskop, and at low tide the men would come out so that the women could go swimming.. the women swam in their dresses; those days, there was a lot of respect for women.

We danced the goema dance in the 40s, 50s and even in the 60s at Schoenmakerskop. We would collect wood in the late afternoon, then we would make a fire in the evenings and do the goema dance.

What did the goema dance entail?

The men would take two female partners each. We would walk in a large circle around the fire, singing a song called “Rosa” (Cape Dutch song). That was a very famous song in those years. The goema was a small drum that you would hit with your hands. Then the man would link his arm through the arm of first the one and then the other female partner. They would link arm in arm that was our fun.

There must have been a lot of respect for each other those days?

There was more respect those days than there is now – no matter that people are more educated nowadays. People in those days were not so educated, but respect was important.

The other evening, I spoke to two teachers. They both teach at an Islamic school, and I spoke about discipline. I said that there was more discipline at white schools than in other schools. The two Islamic teachers did not agree with me.

Let me give an example around Hadjie Maan (Imam from Grace Street mosque).. in the evenings, he would come down Walmer Road, taking a stroll. We would be standing at the corner of Gardner Street. That was our hangout, us ‘gang boys’. We would be smoking on the verandah, but if you saw Hadjie Maan was on his way, you would immediately take your cigarette out of your mouth such was the respect ...

Nowadays, the child who grew up in front of you, does not greet you. It looks like he expect you to greet first. There was a lot more respect those days than nowadays. We greeted adults, no matter who they were. And the adults in my neighbourhood, they would send you on errands, too. The ‘atta’ , the ‘siessie’ across the street or next door would call you and say: Saliem, go to the shops for me! Then you had to go. Today, you cannot do that: the neighbour would demand to know why you sent his child.

And when children broke the rules, they got a hiding?

Yes, we did get hidings... my boeija (dad) had a thick belt, with which he would hit us. Today, they would call that child abuse. We were too scared of my boeija to risk a hiding, so we behaved ourselves. My boeija hit bloody hard, sjoe!

Tell me more about the Malay community of that time. What were the customs, at weddings, for example?

At weddings, for instance... the bride and her two bridesmaids would go from house to house to invite people and tell them the news that she was going to be married... so close-knit were we. When people travelled to Cape Town - those days, they would travel three days per train to Cape Town - especially the old people, we youngsters did not do that – they would come around to take their leave of us. It was nearly as if they were going to Makkah (holy city in Saudi Arabia). Those years in the 40s and early 50s, the people would visit and take their leave of each other in the neighbourhood - such was the respect and so close-knit were we.

As I said, the brides would come to greet, and when the bride was in the reception hall, then there would be tables, but only the women would sit at the tables; us menfolk would stand to the side. Now we would sing – I belonged to the *Young Ideas* choir – we would sing klopse. Then the people would ask us to sing Cape Afrikaans songs at weddings.

And if a young man fancied a girl?

If you wanted to go courting, you had to ask the girl's parents first whether you could come visiting at her home. They called this "home consent – 'huisvra'". Yes, the getting married bit is still the same, today: You go to the girl and then you ask to get married. We called this lambar (engagement); we would say now you are engaged, although you actually asked for permission to get married.

And with kifayats (funerals), we had malboets (messengers); they went from house to house in South End to announce that there would be a kifayat or a bride (wedding), and where and when (this would be held).

What type of community was South End?

South End was cosmopolitan. We lived next to the mosque, which was to our right, when facing Summerstrand; on our other side was the Chinaman Sinky Ah Why's store. And opposite were Indian people, the Danas. And diagonally across, some Black people lived.

The people were very close?

The people were very close. Us children played cricket in the streets. We used to challenge each other. On Sunday afternoons, I would play for Gardner Street, although I lived in Rudolph Street: all my cousins lived in Gardner Street. On a Sunday afternoon, Gardner Street would, for example, play against Seymour Street. Hey, it was like a test match! – even the parents would come to watch, and you felt very important as you played there....

Was South End a slum area?

That was the ploy the National Government used to justify demolishing our homes. They used that propaganda to justify evicting us. Obviously, some of the houses were old; the house I lived in, was old. One could tell from the architecture of the house that it was British – that it had some 1820 Settlers influence. It was old, but it could have been renovated. It was not necessary to demolish it. They used that excuse (ploy) that South End was a slum area: No - South End was not!

Were there class differences in South End?

No, I wouldn't say so. There may have been people who thought there was ... those years, they were called the "stiefies". So a few people had more money than others, but there was no discord. We were quite happy among ourselves.

What type of work did most South End residents do?

Those years, in my time in the 40s and 50s, most of the men worked in shoe factories. And later, when General Motors and Ford came, many of the men went into the motor car industry... and then there were those who went into the building trade; the plasterers and the carpenters... Most of the women-folk were garment workers.. many had primary school education, and very few had high school education.

Was there crime in South End?

Not like today. There was crime, murders were committed, burglaries took place, but not on today's scale. Those years, you could walk down Walmer Road at night, all by yourself .. today, you can walk nowhere alone.

What do you remember best of South End?

South End? What stood out for me, and I am talking of all South End communities - whether White, Coloured, Indian or Malay - they all loved sport. Apart from their religion – they would attend their churches and their mosques – I would describe them as a sport-loving community. We had soccer fields, Each community had its own ‘boards’. South End has its famous soccer teams: Blackpool and Swallows. They were very competitive. And on Sunday afternoons there was the Indian League with soccer teams such as Shamrocks and Primroses. They played on the Newtown fields. Then you had the Schaefer (grounds), where we played rugby and in the summertime it was cricket on the Schaefer grounds.

Unfortunately, there were bars, too - there you would find the sector that would sit, and alcohol was always available....

Another outstanding feature of South End was the fish corner “(where fish was sold), at the bottom of Walmer Road. As the fishermen returned from the sea, they would sell the fish.. this was fresh fish from the ocean... Pickled fish was a favourite dish over Easter Weekends.

What emotions did you experience on having to leave South End?

I think it was either 1966 or 1967.... when I opened the newspaper one evening... and I saw written in large black letters there: ‘South End declared white.’ That in itself hit me like a whip. At that time, I still lived in the house in which I had been born... Generally speaking, there was great sadness, especially among the older people. The white man will never know how much he hurt these people. Today, they expect us to be nice toward them. None of them did anything: for 40 years, they voted the National Party into power... and then they declared South End a white area. The old lady across the street from us – we called her Aunt Annie (Kayster); this old lady fell ill and she later died. The grief she experienced on learning the news that she had to move, was too much for her. Auntie Annie died of a broken heart...

INTERVIEW WITH MR S. MUTHAYAN

26/07/2007

*I would like to thank you for allowing me to conduct this.**My first question to you: give a brief background of yourself?*

Let me start with my name: Soopiah Muthayan, my father was Mr. Muthayan [spell name] I am Soopiah Muthayan. I am now a retired pharmacist. My last job I did have was, as the quality assurance manager at what was then called Lennon Limited and subsequently became Aspen Pharmaceuticals. [stop]

I was born in South End on the 23rd of June 1939, in a street called South Beach Terrace, which was in the lower end of South End. I attended the Hindu Primary School and I did up to Standard Six at the Primary School, after which I then attended Patterson High and matriculated in 1958. I then worked for a year, and then went on to Fort Hare to do a BSc, after which I tried getting a job, but it was almost impossible to get a job in a lab.

After working for about five years, Pharmacy was then opened by the government. What that meant is prior to that people of colour could not study Pharmacy in South Africa, but in 1965, this changed. However having had the first year subjects, I had then to proceed to finding a place to do my two-year internship, which was another problem, and after many years I managed to get in at the Livingstone Hospital and went on to complete my Pharmacy in 1970 at the University of Salisbury Island.

On completing, I worked for the Hospital for a little while and then joined the Lennon Limited organisation, which was one of the few organisations who were willing to take on pharmacists of colour. I worked at the factory for about 35 years [Shaheed, correct that it is 33 years?], in which time I worked through all departments and eventually ending up, as I said in the beginning as quality assurance manager. I since retired and am now retired for two years.

I am a volunteer at the South End Museum. I also recently been appointed as a Trustee and I am Chairperson of the Happydale Hope Workshop in Gelvandale.

Can you tell me something about your parents?

My father, my late father, was originally from India. He arrived here 19..., early 1900; he was the only one of his family coming over with some elderly folks. My mother was a housewife – her family came via Mauritius – but she was born in Kimberley and she came down to Port Elizabeth and married my father. My father died in 1953: he was about 30 at the time. My mother passed away in 1970. I have – had – four brothers and two sisters, who are all of late.

I am the sole survivor of the original Muthayan family. I have two children, a son, he is about 35, he is an attorney who specialises in taxation and now works for KPMG. My daughter did civil engineering and she now works for the Nelson Mandela Metro. My wife, a former nursing sister ... but stopped working when we got married she is a home executive, like I am now.

Was your family a close unit?

Yes, a long, long time ago, that is many years ago, because my sisters started that, when they got married, they moved out and my brothers, as they married, they moved out. We all lived at 15 South Beach Terrace at one time. We were eight, then seven, almost nine people living there, and eventually as they were moving out, we were down to three people: my two brothers, myself and my mother, late mother, she passed on, my brother got married, and I stayed with him.

Then I went to study pharmacy, and when I returned the Group Areas had the audacity to tell me that I am living there illegally, because when they did the survey, I was away studying and they did not have me on it and they threaten to take action against me. However, what happened was, we were forced to buy plots in Malabar and I was fortunate that my one brother, while I was studying ... my elder brother, bought a plot in Malabar ... and then, too, because I didn't had funds to build in time, they threatened to expropriate this plot, because, as I said, I qualified as a pharmacist fairly late in life. The plots were bought in 1967, and they said I did not build in the two year allotted time. They did come around at Lennons on a regular basis and threatened me, but eventually I managed to build a place in Malabar and I am living there ever since.

Can you describe me an incident concerning your brothers, sisters or anything special that you can remember?

You know, we were a very close family unit, as I said although my brothers, as they got married, they moved out to their own homes. There was a family thing that they will all come – the main meal was lunch – that was done at my mother's place. My sisters-in-law would take turns, weekly turns, to come and cook, and we all participated in the meal, and this we did till my mother passed away in 1970. That was something very, very special, because after that the family did move apart, that closeness, the family moved apart. It was really sad and unfortunate that that happened.

Was it a specific day of the week?

Every day! Every day of the week! The main meal, because my brothers were all in some little business they had. So we had, rather than having the main meal at supper, we had the main meal at lunchtime. So we used to come. However, this did not happen when we were still at school. This came afterwards when we were all grown up.

Did you have any fears? What were your greatest fears?

Fear in what sense? Are you talking about Group Areas or before that? *Just in general as a child* ... Strangely enough, as I said, I was born in South End, and I grew up in South End. We lived in a very cosmopolitan community, surrounded by Malay people, Indian population, coloured population, and even whites. There was no sense of fear as we know fear today. You could walk around anywhere at any time and you could not be naughty, because everybody knew whose son you were. All the people knew whose grandson you were, so people never even had to say: Your name is Shaheed. They will say: This is ... so and so's son or grandson. So you were well-known. Nothing happened to be scared of – there was no fear from that point, physical fear, I suppose mental fear. All children as I remember used to go and see Frankenstein movies, that type of thing [laughter] then we will be scared at night at that type of thing, but there were no physical fear. [Inaudible] It was completely different, it was not like fear ... you could walk any time of the night, because everybody knew you, and you knew everybody, so nobody would dare interfere with each other. There will always be someone who will shout 'Hey, do not interfere there!'

Were there any gangs in South End?

We believe there were gangsters, so-called gangsters between a South End group and a group from North End, the Black Shirts. I did not see anybody directly, but these were the stories going on. You would have Black Shirts and you have the other gang, but it never affected us. Occasionally, only once what did happen, was the South End chaps would grab a few Village Board, the North End guys, and tried to set them up and for whatever reason give them a couple of smacks. Whether that was gangsterism I don't know, [laughter] but it was not gangsterism as one knows it today. There was no stabbing, no shooting ... but the only bit of violence one would see was at the bottom of Walmer Road at the fish stores and the fisherman after having a couple of drinks would come out and fistfight [laughter] after the fistfight will go back in and have a couple of more drinks. That was the only physical aspect of the things you would see, but generally we did not have fear ...

Did you feel poor in any way?

Well, you know, generally people were all poor in South End – some worse than others. If I had to categorise myself, I would say I was in-between: I wasn't that very poor. There were people poorer than us, but my family always had small little businesses. We all had to help in there so we had a pair of shoes and good meals, and so, but that's it. There were other children who did not have shoes, so they were obviously poorer than us, but it was never a distinction between that, because at school – you go to school children with shoes and children without shoes ... we were ordinary people. *Did people mix freely?* Oh, very much so, so very much so! I mean, I will tell you more later on about the different people.

What was your first impression when you started school?

Well, I must be honest [laughter] I did not like it! *What school did you attend?* Hindu Primary. I ran away; I ran home and they had to take me back, but eventually I got used to it. But it was nice, well, like in all schools ... classes, we had a bully that was trying to fight with you and that sort of thing. I remember an instance where I told my older sister and the older sister in the family – she was like a mother: she looked after us when we were small and she came to school and she got hold of the so-called bully [laughter] and she threatened him and she told him: if you ever touched him again, I will come and fix

you up! And strangely, he never came ... those are memories I still have, but otherwise I have very fond memories ...

And the teachers, were they excellent?

Och, man, you know, you won't believe there were a ... of people I have the greatest of respect ... not to exaggerate, I remember going to High School and even once I was at University I saw some of them outside and I remember calling them 'Sir' or 'Madam' and they laughed at me, because they said, hey, you're not at school anymore, you don't have to call me Sir you're a big man now, you can call me Mr. so-and so. But that is the type of respect you commanded not through insistence, but came from ourselves because the great admiration for them for the way they carried themselves ... you know teachers in those days were not as the teachers you see today. They were community people also, because some of the teachers also lived in the houses in South End and they were the ones who helped people filling in forms and other things so their work was not only with the children, but was more a communal assistance. ...

So they were directly involved?

Oh yes, our parents went to them to fill in this form ... they did not say it was not their job, and they use to make house calls. And parents had a great respect. I can remember the late Mr Fester, he stayed in the same street where we stayed in [inaudible] and there was the principal Mr Nulliah – everybody called him Mr Coopoo – and Mr Van Breda – They were all Mr So-and-so.

Did you have any special talents?

No, I don't think I was above the normal student. No, no there were students who were sharp, academically sharper than I was. Sports talented, but I was just mediocre in-between. But these were not from a special section of the community: they were from the bottom, from the ones so-called, the ones without shoes. Brilliant students, and I have no doubt that in other circumstances they would have done very, very well. ... If I could manage to become a pharmacist, I have no doubt that those students would have gone way beyond that. Have a PhD like you ... I have no doubts about that. ... Circumstances did not allow.

Were you involved in sport?

Unfortunately, not. I will tell you why. As I said our families had little businesses. We were all expected, as soon as we come from school, we had something to eat, and then we had to do our share, you know. Fruit business: you had to pack, clean up, sort whatever in the café others had to ... So we did not really have a ... The only time, the only sport we played, were at ... sport. *OK* I could not participate interschool soccer playing matches, that type of thing. That is probably a regret in my life as well, you know, but I did not have those opportunities.

What were your teachers like in those days?

Man, I can only describe it in a few words and say that they were special people, special people [...*stands out*] Ja, I can remember Mr Van Breda, he stood out, you know. He had charisma, personality, and there was Mr Nulliah, our principal, who also taught us you know and he taught us all religions ... some of the Indian saints, Islam, Christianity ... In his own little way, he introduced us ... and therefore ... knowledge of the different religions he inculcated, not much, but I have a bit of understanding.

Although it was called Hindu Primary, were their children from other religious groups?

Oh, no, no, I think there were more Malay students. [Inaudible] Historically, what it was, it was a building built by the Indian community of Port Elizabeth and they just called it, it was a group called Saraswathi Institute, they called it Hindu, but it was not for Hindus only. I think the name was misleading. There were more Muslim people in that school than Indians. The Muslim community in South End was bigger than the Indian community and a big coloured community, as well. It was not only for Hindus.

What was your sharpest memory of the school you attended? Was it a big school?

No, no, it was a very small school, and don't think there was more than 2-300 students. What I can clearly remember, though, it was the smallest, I think we were, probably the only school that had a projector at that time and the principal at that time was a very – I do not know how to describe it – a very, ahead of his time, *OK*, it was said that he contacted the American Consulate and other things there used to be those educational films that we used to get for free because the American Consulate and other – I can still remember the

movies on health ... *Careful Charlie* and *Careless Charlie* and ... how diseases spread, in cartoon form. I can remember other historical, musical ... so once a week, ah. I think it was a Friday after one I think – no, no – maybe a Thursday, they would show films, they would open up the hall and the students would come together. That was something that stands out.

... something separately, once a year, at the end of the year, we would go to the beach. All the teachers used to come with. They used to hire the bus to Summerstrand ... those years it was just the other side of Musketeer Dam ... the Beacon and we go there for the whole day ... that was something that stands out.

What were your personal goals in life?

Well, I, think you know, we all have different goals – goals changed all the time – your first challenge was Junior Certificate (JC). JC was very important up to a point, but by the time I got to it, JC was regarded as nothing, so I had to go onto Matric, so that was the next goal [inaudible] then you got your driver's licence. So you had various goals, yes, but after that you go to university, although you were not too sure what you were going to do – your goal was to go to university. You friends were also going to go, and I think that was the thing that drove us all. We knew we had to do something by that time Apartheid, Group Areas, ... and all the odds were against us because, up to that time, you could only become a painter, a carpenter, a mason. You could not become an electrician, you could not become a plumber because of job reservations, you could not become a mechanic, could become a handlanger, stripper, OK so I, I think if things were different I would probably have done better in electronics. There was also a dream in my life that I wanted to become a pilot [laugh] that just could not happen here, but those were dreams in my life that would have loved to have done, and, who knows, maybe I could have become a good pilot. I was a bloody good truck driver, you know, with the big load at the back truck and trailer. So, ja, I think ... BSc, then I could not, I worked for a couple of years then I realised: hey, do I want to drive a truck for the rest of my life? Do I want to do this? I realise no, I must try ... I finished Pharmacy, I was 31 years old when I finished pharmacy, I was quite old, very old actually, I was the oldest in my group, I was a senior member in my group. So, yes, I think I am pretty proud of myself, because although I had a big break with trucks and all of that you know, I went back to study. It was tough; because I could not even read log books. I did not use logbooks for the six-seven years in-between.

[inaudible] Completely everything else other than academics, if I was in the lab I could still do the calculations, I struggled, I almost gave it up.

I came down one weekend Ambrose George, Dr George, I met him. He used to come to my family business to drive around with us in the van and I chatted to him that day. We chatted, and I said Ambrose ... He said: "Don't give it up! Do you want to drive a truck for the rest of your life?" You know, I thanked him, because of that little pep talk we had. He said: "Man, go back, and give it your best shot, and if you still not make it, then you give it up, but don't give it up now ... months of year gone by who knows, alternatively, why don't you stretch your study over three years, if you had to? Why give it up?" We had a good chat. That Sunday I was back, back to Durban.

What was your sharpest memory of the temple you attended?

As a youngster, I use to attend Hindu Temples, and they used to have whole day services, and we got off that day. And separately, I lived near the Pier Street Mosque. So as a youngster, I used to play around there, all my friends being Malay. So I am familiar with the Pier Street Mosque. I used to go to Christian churches ... as a youngster we were everything. Malay friends use to celebrate Deepavali with me. I celebrated Eid [with my Muslim friends]. We used to walk around, say: 'Slammat Galla!' and get penny and cake. We were all Muslims on Eid, we were all Hindus on Deepavali, and we were all Christians on Christmas Day. It was fun, parents laughed at it, because it was funny. We used to borrow a koofiyah [fez] those years. The Malay [Muslim] community was very fussy, wearing a koofiyah and I used to get one, and walk around ... it was fun, it was very nice ...

What did your family do on a Sunday?

The business used to be open for half the day. But it was also normal, you had special meals on a Sunday ... I think for all South End people, Sunday was special, whether it be families or workers. It was the only day they prepared a big meal, chicken and meat and roast potatoes, all those things ... of course there was dessert ... either custard or jelly or something simple ... And then of course, during the summer season, because it is hot, everybody used to walk down Main Street, to do window shopping ... or used to walk to King's Beach ... although we couldn't go into the beach [due to apartheid laws].

Were holidays fun for you?

Oh, ja, as children we used to jump over the railway fence ... the railway sheds shunting yard were at the bottom end, so we used to stand on the fence watching the trains, arguing about them ... play with tyres and make little carts, fly kites and play top ... when I wasn't called into the shop to help there ...

So the trainline was very close to your house?

Yes, the trainline going up that way was the Apple Express, but there were lots of lines at the bottom ... [the trains] used to shunt up and down night time, banging ... we got so used to it, we could sleep at night ...

And that was a beautiful part of South End?

Lots of activity. You could watch the day boats, fishing boats going out in the morning, coming back and fishermen carrying their fish from the jetty, hanging them in the corner. Fish, there was a big selection of fish ... cheap ... it was unbelievable the amount of fish they can fit in a can ... line fish ... we never ate hake and that type of thing. It was too cheap. The only people who used to buy it, is the fish-and-chip shops. People only ate headline fish, geelbek, kabeljou ...

And there were always food on the table?

Oh, plenty. Nobody used to starve, because everything was cheap. And when people didn't have, they shared. And trust, safety: we didn't bother to lock houses; we told Galla [aunty] Janap next door, we're going out, to keep an eye; "Tell the children I am going out somewhere so when they come, tell them I'll be back a certain time". If you needed something, people can borrow next door. When somebody was ill, you call somebody next door to come and help. There wasn't by arrangement, by appointment – people just helped each other. It was a normal thing to do ...

Who influenced you the most?

There was the influences from teachers, that is a separate type of influence. Then, obviously, you had influence from your family, parents. I didn't have much of a father [figure]: my father died young, and he had family in India and he used to go over regularly. My mother was a disciplinarian and she, I can just share this with you. I can

remember when I went to school for the first time ... I got a hiding, I came home and said the teacher gave me a hiding. I'm going to say this to you to tell you how parents respected teachers. Do you know she immediately took a strap and gave me a hiding without asking any explanation from me, because her understanding was that a teacher is a responsible person. If that teacher gives you a hiding, it meant that you did something wrong, no questions, no debate. And that was the first and last I recall ever telling my mother I got a hiding. Because I knew what would happen ... Those are the value system they had ... And then of course, I went to high school, friends also influenced me, because we were competitive ... but I must admit that after matriculating, I didn't know what I wanted to do. We didn't have career guidance, pharmacy wasn't a thing for us that time – we didn't know about that thing, you just know you had to go to varsity. I didn't want to do English and History that time. So ended up doing Science.

How did it come about that you ended up doing Pharmacy?

As I said, I did a BSc, but I couldn't get a job in a lab. I knew I didn't want to be a teacher ... so for five, six years I drove a truck, and then I got involved in the maintenance of trucks. The only job I, closely, I could get to a lab job was at the Wool Board in the basement, to open the wool bags and take out samples. Because they wouldn't allow me to work in the lab (they had people who only had JC [standard 8 certificate]). Here I had a BSc, and couldn't work next to a white man. So that is why they offered me R75 a month. So I ended up driving a truck where I earned R50 a week, it was a lot of money, that time ... then I switched and got into Pharmacy.

What were you like as a teenager?

Ja, as I said, as a teenager, during the day we had to work hard at family businesses, but in the evening when we were free and friends get together [inaudible] there was bioscope and look at young ladies and so on, but life obviously changed a lot more in terms of the awareness of the opposite sex when I went to varsity myself and a few friends when we came home for holidays [inaudible] in the evenings and go out and then I used to borrowed my brother's car. I started driving at a young age, I was very fortunate, I had very good brothers [inaudible] yes, ... [inaudible] yes, in many ways, in fact because I lost my father early when I did Pharmacy, my mother contributed ... I had good brothers in that sense, but also I worked in the business, so it offset the other two that I had to work hard, because I paid my fees and whatever not and travel fees and all of it, so, Ja, no, I think as a

teenager I was average, nothing outside the ordinary. We were naughty but naughty, in our own way – we were not into drugs or that type of things. In those years we did not have those kind of drugs, yes, we tried a bit of alcohol ... yes, we did that type of thing and looking at the young ladies, but that was about all.

Were your teenage years difficult? Fun?

Fun! It was fun, fun in a wild way, because, as I said, during the days we go to the shop into the business and after that we would have our ... and in-between we did a bit of travelling. You had to organise yourself, and nothing came easy ... unlike today's people ... you had to organise for yourself, nothing came easy. I think perhaps that is why under harsh conditions that came into play, we could survive which I think the youngster of today ... they do not know how to struggle. They do not know what struggle is.

Did you resent authority?

Well, when you talk about authority, authority at home, authority at school – no, but in later years, yes, the government ah Group Areas if you look at separate education ... yes, I resented that and I resented it very strongly so much so that, in 1961 in Fort Hare, the University of Fort Hare closed down because the Republic was declared we were all sent home and the place was closed for about two months ... and there was a big awakening for me on the political arena, because up to school level I only knew Dennis Brutus and that type of thing. He was our English teacher and he talked to us about things that was happening – sport and South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) ... he was the lay person. I was quite disappointed that he was never given the recognition he should have been given, because he was ... to around all the other African states and eventually ... South African being expelled from the Olympics, sort of you know. Ja, no, there was good things that happen, yes of course the authority, the government ...

Were you involved in politics?

I think everybody in South Africa was involved in politics one way or another. If you say I was locked up in Robben Island – no, but meetings ... [inaudible] no, I was not locked up, but in other words, we all did a lot for the struggle, very much so, we did things for the struggle, while a few of our colleagues were in jail, others went in exile and a lot of us

were not in South Africa. We did a lot, ja, we did not talk about what we did, but you know we did a lot.

What were the rules your parents laid down?

Our rules, and I think it was a typical rule of all the parents, very simple there was only one big woman and one big man by us: end of the story. Your mother was the big woman and your father was the big ... OK, in my case, my father died young and my elder brother acted like ... the house was not big enough for two big women or two big men. So as long as we stayed in the house, there was a set of house rules and we abided by them.

For example

To give you an example, school – you would finish Matric you either do that quickly, normal, or you can be an old man ... but you will finish Matric. As long as you were in school, high school included, you could never go to night shows. I only went to night shows on special occasions when there was an Indian film. And we went as a family or when I was at varsity. We couldn't go to midnight shows – there were certain things, the laws were there you had to help in the business – that was not debatable. You respected everybody. The rules were simple; everybody was auntie, uncle galah? Boeta, honey, hakka, whatever you called them. Those were the rules, you never called a big person on the name, the rules were simple, you never back-chat with any adult person in South End, because if they had come and mentioned it to your parents, again, not debatable: you would get a good hiding – good hiding, that was typical. With the result, anybody, our neighbours, anybody was ... with respect, that is how it was. So those were the rules, but very simple, very basic rules. . You were not rude at school you were not rude with people ... good house practices.

How did the movement affect the religious routine of your family?

Well, I think, fortunately, it didn't ... we still had a temple in Valley Road the one in ... road was demolished and we got one in Malabar, so from that aspect, I was never a very religious person, so for the religious functions I could go there, not too much on that aspect I suppose unlike some of the other people in South End who belonged to certain churches, I think they had a difficulty if you were Catholic you had to go to the other side of

the world. It was difficult to get to a church so I think it affect some people far more than me.

What emotions did you experience at having to leave South End?

Probably for me not as bad as the others. Lots of the moves happened while I was studying. The forced removals, loading people on the vans, etc. I didn't witness it directly ... but what I can gather it was tearful, especially the older people, they cried bitterly ... and while they were staying, waiting for a place, they had to pay rent. At the time they left they almost had nothing left. They couldn't buy another house. People were thrown into mixed areas – different people from Fairview [for example]. I believe it was a very sad thing. Emotionally it was a sad thing, because when I used to come back ... from studies, places started decaying as people moved out. But there were still people around. They made sure they broke down everything ... so, yes, I think it was sad, because ... here we come from a mixed communal living style to Malabar for Indians; Chinese, Kabega ... It was a complete change for us. It took us a while to get used to it.

Would you like to go back to South End?

Yes, at one time I want to. *Did you!* Strangely enough, when it opened up and Group Areas fell away I realised going to South End is never to be the same, because it was the people that made South End. So, yes, I had dreams of going back, but now the only time I go back is to recall the past and for that reason I have joined the South End Museum. So that I can at least keep in touch and share some of my experiences with visitors that come into the Museum.

How did forced removals affect your family?

[Laughter]

We became the poorer. Some people benefitted, people who lived in crowded places by and large, I think it distanced our community from the other sort of communities and that was the sad part of it, you know. Where we started our children started losing touch, because of separate schools and separate intermingling, to get less and less and less. That was one of the tragedies of Group Areas.

How do you feel towards the government that implemented forced removals?

I think they were cruel [cough] I think they were cruellest in terms of the harm they were causing. It was not just about slums, clearing slums, but also destroyed communities that respected each other for generations and moving, forced removals moved communities, shattered communities by pushing them apart, separating them. In fact, they destroyed cultures, and South End had its own culture. I say cultures: if you destroy that, you cause an upheaval it led to, to, to children going the wrong way. Distances ... They put people a distance from their work situation, living under different conditions, and I think the damage they ... will never, never be corrected, could never be corrected. It will take very many generations, but we lost the history. We lost the culture of moral values, we lost all of that. Whether we make up, I only hope we do, but not in my time, unfortunately.

Thank you very much for the interview and keep up the good work you are doing and all the best for your future endeavours, Mr Muthayan.

Thank you very very much, I will certainly try to share let me put back what I can Thank you for choosing me as one of your typical candidates. If you need clarity on other things, don't hesitate to contact me, please.

INTERVIEW WITH IMAM JALAL ISMAIL

06/09/2007

Give a brief background of yourself

I was born and bred in South End. I grew up as an orphan because my father died before I was born, my mother had to go and work so naturally, I did not complete a satisfactory academic schooling. But I did manage to do my primary schooling. The school that we attended was Dower Primary School. Most of the school teachers there were whites, white ladies. We had some gentlemen there too, coloured gentlemen. I was forced to go and work. That time I'm talking about during the war years (1939-1945). The Second World War. It was the time we experienced what we called the 'blackout' ... we lived in South End throughout the war.

Our religious life, well we grew up as Muslims. The population of South End as many people know ... all races lived there, Indians, Chinese. Most of the grocery stores were Chinese and the cafés there were mostly run by Indians ... I attended the Pier Street Mosque. Then there was another Mosque in Rudolph Street.

What was your address in South End?

When I opened my eyes we lived at 23 Walmer Road, South End ... Then we moved to North End in 1944.

What were your impressions of Dower Primary School

It was a very good school, good teachers. The principal was Ms Rawnsley, some of the teachers that I experienced there were Ms Stacey, Ms Nurick, she was Jewish, Ms Griffin, there was a coloured gentleman there by the name of Mr Stanley Hendricks ... So I must say the grounding was very good ... it was good from the English teachers, I suppose that had an impact on me regarding the English language. ... the principal was very strict, she lived in Gladstone street.

Which Madrassa [Islamic School] did you attend?

I attended Pier Street Mosque, before the mosque was extended, there was a part, a hall attached to the mosque ... the Imam at that time was Imam Armien Connolly. His father was Imam there before him, one of his uncles was Imam there before him. I attended

classes (Madrassa) there as a little boy. Here I received my basic Quranic lesson. That also I can say I benefited much from it, because the Imam himself was haafith-Quran [learn Quran by heart]. He was very strict, we used to sit on the floor, one pupil here and one pupil there and he listened to both simultaneously.

He [Imam Armien] wasn't short, he wasn't very tall, he was medium height, I would say more on the shorter side ... he was a community man, a leader. In those days he acted like one would say, like a Commissioner of Oath ... I don't know whether he was officially a Commissioner of Oaths, but what I do know he helped people. Many of our old people could barely read or write and he used to make their papers right, like pension, fill in forms ... you must remember in those days, he didn't have a car, he walked or had to take a tram. If he had a kifayat [funeral] he used to walk – there were no cars.

... later years, before his death, he had a job at the abattoirs, as an overseer. He was working that day, when he got home he passed away ... I believe was about fifty two [when he died]. I think he died in 1950 it was early [in the year] either January or February.

What was your sharpest memory of the Mosque you attended?

Years later they extended [broke through the walls of the mosque] there where you see the pillars, that's where they had the Madrassa. And when they had lectures when the sayyids use to come from Mecca, the ladies use to go there, they had partitions (the small room where use to have Madrassa). The imam he was very good he wasn't educated in Arabia, he was educated in Cape Town, he became haafithul Quran in Cape Town. He was also of the Hanafi Mathaab [school of thought] he never used to give lecturers. He used to speak like important nights in the Islamic calendar and in those days most of the people spoke Afrikaans. At the time he passed away he lived in Frere Street.

Tell me more about your family?

It was my mother, and my eldest brother is Gamied, then Gadija, she was the only girl, then there was a boy by the name of Ebrahim, he passed away, he was an infant. He was about two or three. And then there was Kariem and Taufeq, he died when he was a month old and then myself, I was born [a few months after my father died].

My mother was a hardworking woman, my mother couldn't read or write, but she could make a dress. She made our trousers, short trousers, with a lining in ... She made our clothes. I had to go and work. I had no other alternative. But before I had to go and work and in the afternoon, I had to cook the rice ... my first place where I went to work was in Coega, a brick factory, where they made cups of clay. It wasn't for very long. I earned ten bob a week. My next job was at Barksole shoes ... just past Darling Street, it was a shoe repair shop. It was a little factory upstairs. It was an English gentleman [the owner] and his two sons, they opened up this factory ... his surname was Knowles ... I only worked there for a year or less than a year. Then I got a job at Jack and Jill ... I started there the 27th or 29 of July 1945. I worked there from 1945 to 1968, that is 25 years. The Thursday I knocked off at Jack and Jill and the next day I started at Buffalo Paints [which later became Plascon]. It was started in Bagshaw Street ... I worked there from 1968 up to 1995, twenty seven years, I retired there.

In my youth, I was very interested in cricket. I wasn't a very good cricketer ... my first team I played for was Swans Cricket Club, second league in Village Board ... I didn't play long. Then I played for St Marks. In South End when they started a team there, the headquarters was in Bridge Street Universal (Cricket Club), that was my last team I played for ... I tried to be a bowler ... I was an administrator, I was a delegate to the Union (Cricket Union) and secretary of the Bernato Board Union ... and my assistant secretary was Kallie Groener. The Chairman was a very colourful man, Norman Williamson, he lived on the Hill [Richmond Hill].

Who influenced you the most

Over my life, different people influenced me at different times. There was a man called Boeta Armien Nackerdien... how did he influence me? He was what you would call an ideal husband.... As time progressed, he became the right-hand man of Imam Ballie (Abdul Latif). I was very attached to the masjid (Pier Street).

When the opportunity was there, I would accompany them to kifayaas... he was a community man. At that time, there were no cars. So we had to carry the mayyit (the corpse).

There was another aspect to our involvement in the community. We had the Eastern Cape Islamic Congress (welfare organization). I was one of the planners, at one time I was an official; secretary, serving as chairperson twice.

We lived in Sprigg Street when I was married; in a rental house.

I was one of the finders of the Baitaul Maal (welfare organization). Sheikh's (Jamiel) brother was the first convener, and I was the secretary. In that time, we went to live in Schauderville - in March 1959, at 17 Dan Street. We lived there happily. I also served twice as secretary of the Schauderville Committee. The people who were with me at that time were Boeta Mily Solomon and Mymoena Baboo...Boeta Mily's Dad bequeathed 300 pounds towards land.. we applied for land. Then they (the City Council) said that they could give us land in Katanga (Helenvale) in Pienaar Street, close to the terminus. After a time, I wrote a letter (as secretary) to state that the land was not suitable, as our congregation resided in Gelvandale. Then they responded, suggesting that we swop land with the Congregational Church, who wanted land there. They (the Congregational Church) had gotten land in Sauls Street; we could swop with them. We again made an appeal to them, stating that the land was too small. They then conceded, making seven residential plots available... that was part of the history of Taqwa (Masjied).

And your involvement with Pier Street Mosque

When I opened my eyes I was attached so to speak to Pier Street Mosque ... it is actually Masjied-Aziz, but they refer to [it] as Pier Street Mosque. In my adult life ... the secretary at that time was Imam Saan Nakerdien and they asked me to join to become a committee member. Committee member at that time was equivalent to a trustee ... at that time I already stayed in Shauder ... I became a member round about 1965 ...

Then later we moved to Arcadia and it was far I couldn't attend the mosque, only weekends ... I was still a member of the congregation. And then as the years went by, we were all out here in the Northern Areas. And there again we throw our weight to help again the community, madressahs planning of the mosque. Eventually we managed to erect the crèche [in Salt Lake] and we also had religious school at night ... and in West End there was a madressah. Mr Nordien, he had a madressah in his garage. And as the years went by the Salt Lake Association [was established], I was not a member but I was sentimentally attached to the Association ... I was a great supporter of them. Then they

managed to secure a ground in Salsoneville and as a member of [Eastern Cape Islamic] Congress and the Religious Affairs Council we were actually the planners, and when the mosque openende in 1993 (it took us 15 years to complete) and most of the congregants are from West End, Salt Lake, Arcadia. Many, in fact all of them were attached to the South End mosques (which include Grace Street mosque, Rudolph Street Mosque and Pier Street Mosque. That is how we build up the congregation here at Salsoneville mosque ... January I will be Imam for 15 years. I don't know if it is the 22nd or the 23rd of January ... but South End was a way of life.

What was your sharpest memory of South End

Well if you talk about incidents there, some tragic incidents and some happy incidents. One of the tragic incidents that I can recall is when a railway bus from Walmer when the brakes failed, it went right down it was on a Friday night, 22 people were killed, the one was a woman who was supposed to get married the next day ... After years after that, I think it was in the 1950s or 60s Forlee's bus, then tragedy also struck. These are tragic incidents that I can recall.

What was the atmosphere in South End (like) in those days?

The atmosphere in those days, there was no such word as apartheid, before 1948, we did not know that word apartheid, a word which was coined by the Nationalist government. We identified ourselves as Muslims, we could identify the Indians as the Indian community, they weren't a big community, in those days you could count how many Indian families were there. The coloureds and Malays were the most. A number of whites stayed in upper Pier Street and some lived among coloureds and Malays. In the middle and bottom of South End were mainly coloureds and Malays. I can't recall if black people stayed in South End, there were predominantly coloureds and Malays. And some whites also lived at the bottom ...

The people respected one another, you know and there was no animosity and it was safe you know, when I stayed in Walmer Road, I can remember it was my granny's house, the front was a tailor's shop. Before that time I believe it was part of my Granny's house. It was converted and made it into a small tailor's shop. (Nakerdien Tailor). We had to go through a lane, to get to the front door and they had a key, bet many a night they didn't even lock that's how safe it was.

In those days people were very strict ...

In those days my grandmother never made use of fish oil ... they used fat.

And what were the favourite dishes in those days?

The favourite dishes were mince, with dahl, yellow rice. And a luxury those days was a slaughtered chicken. My granny was a good cook and baked very well.

Two dishes that she used to make were fish frikkadels, and when she made these, she always sent me to the Chinese store, the ... shop for a tickey's worth of fish oil. They stored that (the oil) in large drums. Rice and sugar were kept in bags, then they would weigh it... and most of the time, people baked their own bread. And if my grannie was in the mood to bake, then she would take from the same dough and make such long pies. That was tasty! (whistles to indicate how tasty the pies were).

Imam, the people must have cared for one another?

What was nice, was that the weddings were different, slightly different from our weddings. Weddings were held in the Oliver Plunkett Hall, the Lindstrom Hall...

Imam, if a young man was interested in a girl, he would send the Imam to the family. How did it work in those days?

The Dad would go to the Imam. You would first make an appointment... most weddings those days were what were called hall weddings - tea and cake weddings.. in those days, if the bridegroom gave a small walima (reception), it would be for men only in die masied (mosque).. there in the Pier Street Mosque, the men would have eaten in the hall... the afternoon, it would be in the big hall. Then the bride would come. The bride did not have one dress only; the first dress she would wear, would be yellow, or whatever. Now she would go to change and have pictures taken; then she would reappear in a white dress. That was tradition... now, everything has changed... it was colourful, it was very nice.

And people cared about each other?

Well, those who were neighbours. But there was no race distinction. Everyone accepted one another. You respected others, and they respected you. None of that 'I am superior

and you are inferior' type of thing. Feelings of superiority and inferiority were normal, but these were not complexes. Race or status did not really cause animosity then.

Eighty five percent of the people were workers; there were few businessmen or professionals. One could count them... there were a few Indian doctors... so if you had to see a lawyer, it would be a white lawyer.

Many of the women worked hard; for example, my grandmother did the washing and ironing and baked bread.

Was South End a slum area?

No. They said the same of District Six. The area was not overcrowded.. there were no sheds. That was the excuse they fabricated; the ploy they used.

Was there a class difference in South End?

Everybody was working class; few possessed their own homes.

How did the people socialize in those days?

Well, through sport. The main form of socializing was through sport: rugby, soccer, angling... cricket was also popular.

And the Brigade was there?

The Muslim Brigade, it was very colourful. We had a man called Mr Powell, Mr Pillay.... those were the ones I can recall...

Religion played a major role in people's lives?

It played a big role... the old people were strict.... People did not have education in those days, but they were focused on their religion... you knew your identity... if you threw away your traditions, you did not respect where you came from...

Did education play a major role in the lives of the people of South End?

They knew it was necessary: secular education and religious education. St Peters and the other churches played a big role...

Was there crime in South End?

Not like we know it today, but there was crime. The Police carried batons... people had respect for the Police... In the evenings, when people went out for entertainment, they walked. There were no cars... it was safe. Where would you find that today?

Eventually, people had to move because of forced removals. How did this make Imam feel and how did the people feel?

It was a terrible feeling. Especially those who owned property. It was nearly like a death sentence. Well, just before the forced removals, before the people were given a deadline, people were already moving out of South End. I myself had moved out of South End (1958). The house, in which we lived, had been sold, so we had to move, and as the owner moved, the tenant also had to move... it was a terrible feeling.

Obviously there was also resistance against forced removals?

Yes, a lot of resistance. Many people lost money ... people were given houses... whether you were happy or unhappy, you had to take these... those are the things you had to endure and that aged you beyond your years. The children today are lucky in that their parents are better off and they did not have to experience these things.

How did the move affect your religious routine?

Yes, one had to adapt... regarding going to the mosque, one had to walk down High Street, catch the bus until you got to the bridge, from the bridge one would walk to the mosque... those days, most of the people lived here and they did not provide a facility for those who lived far.

So if the mosque ended late...

They did not give that grace.... Finished “boeka” (to break your fast in Ramadan) you got on the bus, off the bus. Some evenings, you had to run (especially for taraweesh – prayers in Ramadan). Then the prayers had already started.. there was a time that I got a lift from Kempie (Mr Hashiem Kemp). Few people had cars. That was our experience... and eventually when Sabireen (mosque) built a madrassa, we taraweeg (evening prayers in Ramadan) there for a time.

How did Imam feel about the people who enforced the removals?

At the time when the Group Areas Act was introduced, we were all still young. We read a lot about politics, the debates in Parliament, as the world described them. They were bad, like Hitler’s people; they thought nothing of other people; they had their superior ways. If you fought back, you would go to prison. So you either paid lip service or kept it in your heart. You did not have the ability to fight or participate in guerrilla wars or suchlike. Those were not applicable, as we did not have the means. The least form of resistance was in your heart. There, they all got their day.. one should give the ANC its due; and the world praises Mandela and Tutu (Bishop): they did not retaliate and seek revenge. They did not take revenge; all they wanted to know, was the truth.

Imam, my final question, would you move back to South End?

Well, look, I’ll put it this way: should I get the chance to be able to buy a house there, I would go, but I would not return purely for the sentiment around South End... I would choose what would be best for me. Things have changed. Another South End cannot be created. Then all the people who lived there those days (should still be living there). You can’t make a replica.. age would be against you: you won’t have the same energy.

INTERVIEW WITH MRS G PARLEY AND MISS JULIA PARLEY

07/07/2008

Mrs G. give a brief background of yourself

... I come from Samkama (the district of Graaf-Reinet) ... my father was Steven Mabutu, and my mother was Mary Mabuta.

What did they do for a living?

They worked, they were looking after cows, goats, ... they didn't work for white people they were working for themselves (self-employed).

What is your date of birth?

1st of August [Julia answering, 1918].

When did you come to South End – how old were you?

I was fifteen [which means it was 1933].

And where did you live at that point in time?

In South End and I worked for Makans [Julia correcting her mother: Ma, as far as I know when she (my mother) came to PE she lived in Korsten, with my late father and from Korsten they moved to South End ... (my mother was like a sister to me, we speak – I like to store her information)]. Now, before she worked for Makan, she used to work for a certain white man by the home of Mr Prince – I don't know if it was his name or his surname. Because she even got my eldest brother, he was born in 1938, those people gave him that name of Prince ... those people had lodgers for soldiers that were based in Forest Hill in those years ...

Who was your employer?

The first one was Mr Prince. The second was Tikum [Makan] – Mrs G

What was your address in South End?

43 Walmer Road.

What did the family do on a Sunday?

We went to Sunday School and we went to church – Mrs G

Where was your church?

My church was Rabe – Mrs G [Julia – at the bottom end of Walmer Road]. Pronounced Gabe. *Was it a black congregation* (Mrs G) – Ja.

Was it called Rabeh?

The Presbyterian Church of Africa [Julia]

Julia did you also attend the church?

Ja, we all attended the church. The minister there was a Mr Mbele. He use to live in Walmer Township. He used to come every Sunday ... We had Sunday school on the pavement.

Rabe? How do you spell it?

You see in our language the R is a G pronounced (spelled) Rabe = Gabe (Julia).

What were the rules your parents laid down?

They were very strict (Mrs G). Sundays you must go to church. And 5 o' clock you must be at home. You can't walk here and there (Mrs G). And Sundays you must know there is no washing, no ironing – just church.

What type of work did you do?

Housework [at Makan's – Mrs G]. Mr Prince I used to cook, but by Makans, I never cooked, because they had their own cook.

Were you involved in the church?

No, she [my mother] just a churchgoer [Julia].

Was South End a working class community?

No, it was a mixture [Julia] there were shopkeepers, tailors, factory workers, shoemakers, jy weet.

Can you remember some of the black (surnames) in South End?

There was Aunt Minah Bobby, there was the Mswazi's ... there were lots of place to let ... those days you didn't even know what nationality the person is ... wit en swart deurmekaar [Julia].

What type of work did most people do?

... most of them worked in factories [Julia]

Was South End a slum area?

No, I won't say so. It was a nice place; there were a few 'plank' huise en 'plaat' huise. If you had to compare South End with Korsten, because Korsten, 'jy sien sommer water lê in die straat; 'South End was 'n baie skoon plek ... The rich used to help the poor [Julia].

Did people have respect for one another?

As I said earlier, you don't even realise what nationality you are ... because you don't see colour ... there was perfect harmony ... 'Die kinders het geweet dit is 'n grootmens [Julia] 'n kind was 'n kind' [Mrs G] My kinders was by 'n 'bruin' skool; there was no 'black' school there (Mrs G)

You said people lived in harmony?

We lived nicely together (Mrs G). There were argument, it is not normal if you don't argument, but no fights or not speaking to your neighbour for a whole month or so. We weren't like that. 'Julle stry nou' then you sort it out now, 'dan is dit alles oor' [Julia].

What type of people were the Makans?

They were very nice people (Mrs G). I worked for them no complaints, because all these children were born there [The Parley's live in the backyard of the Makan's] (Mrs G)

Julia what was Dower Primary like in those years?

Ooh, it was nice, man. I still remember [it very well]. I wonder if some of those teachers are still alive ... Miss Mymoena Baboo was very fond of me, because she said, I like your English ... she used to be my favourite teacher ... and we had Mr Hendricks, he was stern, but firm, a loving person. But the person I think most, sometimes, about, is Mr Myburgh

[the principal] of South End High. You were afraid to go in there if you did something wrong and Mr Myburgh got hold of you – wah. Ooh, but it was lekker man, it was lekker.

Were you afraid of your teachers?

You know, ooh. The thing that is wrong with the world today, the children have lost respect, that's all I can say, huh. The children have lost respect, because even sometimes when you go to Greenacres [shopping mall] or some place when you use the bus, a child, your grandchild's age, won't stand up [offer a seat]. It wasn't like that in our days, we weren't brought up like that. Things have really changed for the worse ... the thing is respect went.

What was the atmosphere like at South End High?

Ooh, it was 'lekker'! [laughing] As I tell you, if you did something wrong ... Mr Myburgh he was just as fair, but he wouldn't take no nonsense from a child. 'Jy moet net jou 'bleddie' huiswerk done en get it over with' [laughing]. Yoh, Mr Myburgh! Then I wonder if there others are alive, like Mr Petersen, ... Mr Nagan, Siva Moodaley ... Mr Uren ... then there was Frank Simon ... [Julia]

How would you describe South End?

It was one of the best places to live in. You see ... I grew up in South End you know ... I only came here when I was [very young] ... [Julia]

You said you moved to [KwaZakele] in 1958?

Yes my mother said '58, but I was still a little girl then. But I remember attending school in '59, because we had to travel now to South End from KwaZakhele. My mother had a room here [in South End], but it wasn't big enough for us all. So it hit my mother also in the pocket.

She stay there [South End]?

Yes, my mother was a live-in domestic. She had the house there [in KwaZakhele] when we moved that time with the Group Areas.

Was it the same house you live in today?

The same house. When we came here, it was only two-roomed [house], no ceiling. The PVA was still wet, here, uhm. There were boulders in the house – we had to push them out. It was tough. It wasn't ready, it wasn't, to be moved from South End, to come here.

How would you compare South End with the place you moved to?

We were very heart-sore, because we knew it's going to be bus fare, you know. And you can imagine, first the bus fare and then we don't know anybody here. And then, even the food, when it comes to the food. In South End, you ... to get a bunch of fish for five bob, fresh from the sea. Bruised bananas 'jy gaan koop dit by die skottel, tamaties, alles, die was volop" Even if you go to town, you just cross Baakens Bridge then you already in town. Even if you to to OK [Bazaar] and Woolworths, its just here; just around the corner, huh. Just around the corner! It was lekker days that. You Saturdays, you go to the Palace [bioscope], Sunday to church, you know.

You must have felt very heart-sore to leave?

We were heart sore to leave, even today ... it was nice [laughing]

Which means you had to travel all the way to South End to attend church?

Back to South End, because the churches weren't built here ... you know, when we came here some of the people were still living in tents ... our neighbours here were still living in tents, especially those people who came from Korsten.

So people from Korsten and South End moved here [KwaZakhele]?

Yes, people from South End and Korsten moved here. And later on, people from Mount Pleasant, Salisbury Park, all the blacks from those areas [Julia]

I forget to ask what is your date of birth?

My date of birth is the 13th of February 1950 [Julia].

I am glad that I was born in South End. South End opened my mind. You know, sometimes I feel sorry for my kids that they were born and bred in this [area]. Because there you met all kinds of people ... you're out of touch with other cultures. [here in this

area] ... I liked South End, because it broadened my mind. I know how other cultures lived ... even when it come to 'pwasa tyd' [Fasting in the month of Ramadaan], then we used to eat 'boeber' [milk drink] and when it comes to Labarung [Eid], I miss those days [Julia].

After left school, where did you work?

First worked for Mr Africa at his garage, and then I worked at Sonop [liquor store]. Then I worked at Williams Hunt [Motor Dealer]. I worked there for fifteen years. Then my mother got blind [cataract]. Since I had no daughter, I had to stop working.

What else can you remember about South End?

Agh, man, I can only say that I'm sad that I left South End, because sometimes when life gets me down, then I think about South End. Then I feel again happy inside. Jy kan nie tyd terugvat nie [you can't turn back the time], things will never be the same ...

INTERVIEW WITH DIMITRI PAIZIS

14/08/2010

Give a brief background of yourself?

Yes, I was born in Port Elizabeth, back in 1936 at that time my father and his two brothers had a shop in Main Street, the Oxford Cafe, right at the bottom of Russell Road, at the corner of Russel Road and what was then Queen Street. My father came to this country in 1922 after the catastrophe of Smyrna in Turkey. He was on a Greek battleship at that time. When that was, was over in 1921, I think it was, and Smyrna was demolished, then he came out to join his brother, who was in South Africa for some time in Johannesburg. Then he went back in 1935, got married to my mother in Greece, then came back and then him and his two brothers opened up this place in Govan Mbeki [Main Street] and Queen Street in those days. So my address is not actually South End. Our original address is Main and Queen Street. We lived above the shop.

Which school did you attend?

I went to school at Holy Rosary Convent in Western Road for one or two years. Then I went to Marist Brothers in Bird Street, where I finished my school in 1953.

What was your sharpest memory of the school?

... that's all in a book that will come out hopefully in this year. I've been sitting on it for a long time, now, trying to get my wife to put the photographs in. She's been busy with those stuff.

What were the rules your parents set up?

The one thing was not to be rude and not to swear at people. I once told our – we had a servant chappie, I think he was a Zulu – and I told him to shut up one day. And I got a blast and a half for telling him that. That wasn't allowed.

What were some of the chores you had to do?

After my father left his brothers and he opened up a shop at the top of Albany Road, the tobacconist, sorry, a grocery. Well, he had that for many, many years. That actually belonged to George Winlay Liquor Company. Then they had decided to increase the size of the shop and that's where my father's shop went by the board and they demolished it.

The bottlestore that is there now, is the one that was built. And then my father went across the road and opened the Hill Tobacconist, which was the sort of first and only true tobacconist. He used to mix his own tobacco mixture; it was really a specialist job ... and of course being the child of a shopkeeper, one had to do duties come Saturday afternoons, I had to work in the shop while my father went out fishing, or whatever ... We didn't do much in the home with household chores, maybe the girls, but certainly not the boys ...

What were the teachers like in those days?

These guys were Roman Catholic brothers, but they were so strict, I mean, you know, we used to get caning. The one year I got 63 from the one guy. So you can imagine, that was those days completely different from what you see today, where the pupils have more rights ... [the caning] hasn't scarred me and I'm not mentally incapacitated!

What was the sharpest memory of the church you attended?

... We didn't have a Greek church in Port Elizabeth until 1958. Up until that time we used to have services from a visiting priest, either from Johannesburg or Cape Town and we used to either do it in the Anglican Church, St Mary's, St Cuthbert's in Westbourne Road. And occasionally the odd hall ... the first guy who came and did a service in Port Elizabeth was a Reverend Makaranas in 1945, he came and did a service here. And he held it in St Peters church in [South End].

Were you actively involved in the church?

... In 1978/79, I became chairman of the Greek Community. And the one thing that is uppermost in my mind, was to write about the church, because our church at that time was 20 years old. But the priest that we had for all that time, he spoke very little English, he could not write anything properly in English. And our younger people knew next to nothing – only what they heard from their parents. And they didn't know too much anyway, none of the parents were actually academics ... so they knew the basics for us now academically minded ... we needed more than just peripheral knowledge ... and that's why I bought a lot of books from America on the Greek Orthodox Church. Then I set about doing ... fourteen chapters for our magazine. I did a whole history of the church, the worship, everything about it, and I've since put the whole lot together in a book ...

How did most people earn their livelihood?

I don't know too much about that. You know we used to drive through [South End] every weekend as I say. There used to be a restaurant halfway up what used to be Walmer Boulevard. The Indian restaurant – Cashbah – that was quite a favourite of ours.

Were there any Greeks who lived in South End

Look in the early, early, days there was a guy by the name of Zervas Raynakus. He was, I am talking the late 19th century, 1880 thereabout, I think this guy had a shop in the harbour. And he had a lot of money, he bought a lot of property ... he was a wealthy guy and a well-known character in South End. On the corner of Rudolph Street ... [was one of his properties] ...

Was there mutual tolerance among the residence of South End

Ja, as far as I know, everybody got on well. There were many whites who lived here; I don't know if any Xhosas lived here, but certainly Muslims. There were lot of coloureds.

Was South End a slum area?

Ja. in the minds of a lot of people it was a kind of semi-slum. Not a slum, because the maintenance was not, for obvious reasons. People here didn't have the kind of money people had in Bird Street (Richmond Hill), where your top houses were in those days ...

Was crime common in South End?

A lot of drunkenness, hey, I mean there were two hotels at the bottom of Rudolph Street where you cross the street where they used to sell the fish. There were two pubs there ... I can just imagine on a Friday night or a Saturday night. It wasn't too hot a place.

And your opinion on the relocation?

Well, I was also upset, when people had to be shifted from here to the far end of Korsten [and other areas] ...

Do you have any final comment?

No other than the fact that South End isn't the place it used to be. It's been ruined, ruined by these town developers. It has now become an ugly place, whereas it had character in

those days. Even though it might have been dilapidated in parts, unmaintained, it still had character ...

INTERVIEW WITH MR GORDON LOYSON

17 August 2010

Give a brief background of yourself

Well, I was born in South End (DOB 24/11/1927). We had a shop there known as L.Loyson. When I was very young, I went to the coloured church school, at St Marks School [North End]. And after that, I went to the Chinese school in Queen Street [North End] And after that, after I finished there, the school only went as far as Standard Six, I actually wanted to go to a white school, because the standard of education was higher. So I wasn't allowed to go because I was Chinese. The only ones they allowed at a white school were Catholics ... I obviously was Anglican – they didn't allow me. Then I went to Paterson [High] and there I finished my Matric. Then my late mother tell me "Gordon, you must become a doctor". So my uncle said "where you gonna get the money to finance you to become a doctor?" "Let him go, go even if I have to bond my house" [my mother] said. Unfortunately she was murdered and I had to look after the shop in Salisbury Park ... So I had to give up ... so eventually I was helping my brother in his shop in Korsten and then I managed my uncle's shop in Salisbury Park where my late mother was killed. He [my uncle] went to China to get a wife. Little did I know that I, he nearly went there for two; three years. So I managed his shop. So I made a few pennies there. I managed to get a hop in Swartkops ...

What was your address in South End?

35 Forest Hill Road.

Tell me something about your parents?

My parents they're from China, but previously they settled in Mauritius. Before that they heard about South Africa you can pick up diamonds. From Mauritius they landed up in Natal, and from Natal they went to Kimberley, [then they realised] you can't just pick up diamonds [laughing] ... they didn't have education ... they couldn't find jobs, so that group that went there, they all come down from Kimberley. Some went to Durban, some to East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

So your family were scattered?

No, they were friends, in a group ... the majority came to Port Elizabeth. Those days you had Cantonese, they came from Canton and we Gaka, come from the Moyenis, Those who came from Mauritius are mostly Gaka. That is why you'll find the Gaka people along the coast.

What was your father's profession?

He was nothing, he was uneducated ...

And your mother, was she a housewife?

Ja, but he came alone. All of them, those were all menfolk, they were not married [some]. they got a wife in China, they didn't bring them out ... he [my father] went back to bring my mother.

What was the sharpest memory of the school you attended?

... I can recall that teachers were strict. It was nice there.

What was your experience like at Patterson High?

First of all, I finished Standard Six at Chinese school ant they never teach Afrikaans ... and I remember the principal, Mr Barry, I used to battle a little [with Afrikaans] but I managed to scrape through ... the teachers were good teachers.

Tell me something about your childhood?

We were always together [the family] ... our parents use to always take us, bus in those days ... to go visit people, visit our own Chinese community.

And many of the children had to help in the business – Is it true?

That is it, that is why people want to know why is it that Chinese always used to have big families. The reason why is because those days they can't afford to employ [workers] ... so before we used to go to school, we do our chores and after we come from school, we do our chores – and then we can go play.

How many children were you?

Five boys and two girls. Sinky [Ah Why] were ten, twelve, but nowadays it is two and three.

Were there certain rules that your parents laid down?

Oh, yeah, my late mom was very strict. We had chores ... we didn't employ any servants ...

What do you remember about your house in South End?

It was a small house. The shop was a galvanised shop on the corner. Then, eventually, the landlord built us a house, three bedrooms ... we lived happily.

So it wasn't your father's property? Did he buy it later?

No, he didn't buy it ... the landlord was a tombstone maker ... he eventually sold that place to us.

Can you remember the shop? Was it big, how was it inside?

It was a nice size shop. Always fully stocked.

What did you sell?

We were general grocers.

What were your teachers like in those days?

Well, at the Chinese school, they come from China. First we had two, and they retired, and we had another two, they came from Lourenço Marques. They came to our school and taught Mandarin ...

Were the teachers strict?

Oh yes, very strict.

What do you remember about your church?

We had a church ... St Marks in North End ... we had two nuns who used to teach Chinese kids. And eventually the class became too big; they couldn't handle it there by St Marks.

So next to SA Breweries, they had an empty space there, and we moved there and then to Queens Street ...

Where was your church situated?

The church was in the school. It used to be the Moyon-Association ... in Queen Street ... the Priest was English.

What was the name of the church?

St Francis Saviour Church.

Were most of the Chinese Anglican?

Previously, the Anglican always dominated, but the trouble is at one stage, the other group of Chinese here in PE, they managed the Chinese community affairs, they had 'long fingers'. And eventually we outvote them. And then they decided to form their own school. They formed their own school with the help of the Catholic Church ...

Were you actively involved in the community?

Very. I was chairperson of the Eastern Cape Chinese Association.

What role did this Association play?

They used to look after the Chinese people ... they give advice, help with finances, help with education ...

And Chinese were hard workers?

Yes, very hard workers. Our parents they came to South Africa, they can't speak English, nothing. So what they do they come from Mauritius, now Mauritius they got all those small little shops ... and that's where they learned their trade ... The first one comes [and learned and taught the others] and tell them they must keep this and keep that and keep the customer happy. And this was always a joke about this man ... when you come in there [his shop] he gives you a stick, 'show me which one you want' ... they can't speak English, they can't read.

How did many people earn their livelihood?

They had grocery shops ... they had big families. For instance the shop never closes. They take turns: the first batch used to sit and eat and you can't dawdle ... you must eat quickly and go to shop ... others must take their turn ...

Did education and religion play an important role in the lives of people?

Oh, yeah ... because we were not white we encouraged our children, that education is the most important thing ...

Did people live harmoniously in South End?

Oh yes ... we lived in harmony with coloureds and whites.

Did mixed marriage take place in South End?

Chinese were very strict where [mixed marriages were concerned] ... our parents were very strict.

Was housing a problem in South End?

All Chinese used to stay next to the shop ... it was more convenient ... Stuart Township helped [to relieve the housing problem].

Was South End a slum area?

No ... people could walk late at night. Burglaries and robberies were very seldom ...

Was there a bad side of South End?

Well, I think the bad side was mostly the fishermen, they go to sea seven-eight days and come back and drink. Then there was a lot of commotion. They fight and that was the only bad thing about South End.

How did you feel when you had to leave South End?

I moved out of South End before the time. We moved to Perl Road [an area near Korsten] near the bus sheds in a double storey, I moved there. It was nearer for me from there to Swartkops [where my shop was] ... They also chased me out there [with the Group Areas Act]. It became an industrial area.

Did the relocation change your life?

I won't say we were forced to do it, put it this way. If we weren't forced to move we would have stayed that side ... we were away from our church ... that was why we sold the church.

Would you like to go back to South End?

No, if you go back, it won't be the same. Those days we used to live together, play together.

INTERVIEW WITH MR LEO DAVIS

20 February 2008

Give a brief background of yourself

I was born in Cape Town after a year the War [Second World War] ended. My dad went back to Port Elizabeth, back to the company he worked before the war, which was Narrow Morse, and within a year he had started his own business in South End and I was one year old then, or two years old at the time.

Your date of birth, Mr Davis?

My date of birth is the 12th of February 1945 and I was probably involved in the business from day one, because when they worked I was running around and the premises on the left hand ... going up is Ismail's premises, go. I was basically growing up in the business of Joe Davis Hardware ... I joined him officially in the business in 1964, 1 February and I've never had another job, it is now 2008 and I'm still working for Joe Davis Locksmith and Hardware. You've see a lot of changes and that's a brief background of myself. I was very happy working and growing up in South End.

You lived in South End?

We lived for a short spell in South End in a building at the top of Walmer Road. It had a butcher underneath, I think it was called Calder's Butchery ... and the only reason we moved ... my dad was woken every morning at four o' clock with them cutting meat ... so we did live for a short while in South End.

Then you moved to?

Then we moved all over the place. We lived in Central in different parts and the first time we were established we moved to a small flat in Summerstrand and I was probably eleven or twelve years old.

You can't remember how long you lived in South End?

We lived in South End for about a year and a half ... we moved to different flats ... and sometimes we house-sat for people looking after their houses because it was quite difficult to get accommodation in PE so we moved around quite a bit.

Tell me something about your parents

My parents? Joe and Jackie. Joe and Jackie ran a business. My dad's first job was at Narrow Morse. He left school in Standard 6, it was the only place where he worked till he went to the Army, it was 1940 or so. He came back, he worked there for another year. He then decided to start his own business, opened it up in South End and stayed there until we were relocated the same as everybody else was relocated - which was down to North End. My dad worked until he was seventy four years old. He died from heart trouble ... he worked his whole life. He just worked less as he got older. But he was very popular with his friends, popular with the community, and he was fortunate to have some good friends in South End, like Omar Cassim. And my mom, who was originally from Cape Town, she used to help my dad in the business ... she was very friendly. I remember her dear friend was Maureen Reddy. They had the café across the road, Reddy's cafe.

Your father was born in Port Elizabeth?

My father was born in Pretoria, but he came to PE almost immediately when his family relocated. My mother was born in Cape Town. She lived there her whole life til she relocated to PE in 1946.

And your forefathers, are they originally from South Africa?

No, both my parents' parents, i.e. my grandparents were born in the South End of London. My one grandfather was a tailor, he had to discontinue that – he went blind at an early age. My other grandfather was a bookmaker, and he lived in Port Elizabeth. His name was Laurie Davis and he was involved with Hobson, Sam and Pollock. I remember he was involved with them in business, the bookmaking business. So, ja, my parents, my father brought up in PE, my mother brought up in Cape Town, but lived their while living in Port Elizabeth.

Were your paternal grandparents from London?

All four my grandparents were born in London. They relocated in some stage to South Africa.

And what school did you attend, Mr Davis?

I went to Grey School. I did one year at Albert Jackson in Sub A. From Sub B to Matric I did at Grey (Grey Junior and Grey High).

What was your impression of the school?

I think like any school kid, you didn't want to be there ... I didn't enjoy it. Grey is a very good school. It is a very upmarket school and you are given lots of opportunities to express yourself in the sporting field ... to be quite honest, having brought up two daughters I would have preferred to have gone to a co-ed school. At one stage I did want to leave and go to Victoria Park at about Standard 8 or nine. My parents wouldn't allow me to, because I have gone through Grey. They were probably correct, I've been in that, Grey is a very good school ... I just personally think co-ed schools are better options for young people ...

Did you feel you had any special talents?

I didn't believe I had any special talents ... I was average at school ... because I wasn't that interested in learning. Sportwise, probably a bit above average, because I did reasonably well at sport. I still participate in sport, till this day. As far as work ... I'm especially happy to have had that opportunity to join him in South End and spent a number of years there in that cosmopolitan society ... talking about special talents, maybe it is my work at being a locksmith.

What type of sport do you play?

I surf and I play golf.

And as a youngster?

You can just add rugby, cricket and lifesaving to that. So that's basically most of the sport that I played.

What were the teachers like in those days?

The teachers were pretty strict ... I think it was a very Colonial sort of background, at Grey High School, and as such, shall we say, they made sure that we towed the line and if we didn't, we got very quickly pulled into line. Somehow or other, we still managed to get up to all sorts of mischief. The bottom line is that Grey has a strict code of conduct, there's no doubt about that.

What was the sharpest memory of the synagogue you have attended?

... I belonged to the Reformed Congregation, it's up on the Hill (Richmond Hill). I don't think there is a sharpest memory, I just enjoy that particular part of the Jewish culture. I particularly enjoyed the way the prayers are said. I particularly enjoy the fact that the men and women all sit together, the children all sit together, so it's family affair.

What emotions did you experience at having to leave South End?

Well, it is difficult now, because I left there forty-odd years ago, but we were very, very unhappy to leave South End. My parents and I were very, very unhappy. We enjoyed working there, we enjoyed the atmosphere, we enjoyed the people. And to have to come out to North End ... was not something we wanted. As a family, it was a very emotional undertaking, but we had no choice, that was that.

How did the relocation transform your life?

Well quite difficult to say. We come from an area as far as business is concerned, primarily from a business point of view, we moved from a residential area that had a bit of commerce and industry to an area that had all commerce and industry and only small residential. So our business had to change ... from just being a normal hardware to a more specialised locksmith ... it has grown; I'm not sure it would have grown to that extent in South End, which really wouldn't have made much of a difference.